I Have read over the first part of this History, contained in three Books, an impartiall Truth; and judge it fit for publike view by the printing.

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THE HISTORY OF THE PARLIAMENT Of England:

Which began November the third, M. D C. X L.

With a ſhort and neceſſary view of ſome precedent yeares.

Written by THOMAS MAY Eſquire, Secretary for the Parliament.

Publiſhed by Authority.

Tempora mutantur.
Mutantur Homines.
Veritas eadem manet.



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The Preface.

THe uſe of Hiſtory, and the juſt Rules for compoſure of it, have been ſo well and fully deſcribed heretofore by judicious Writers, that it were loſt labour, and a needleſſe extention of the preſent work, to inſiſt by way of Introduction, upon either of them. I could rather wiſh my abilities were ſuch, as that the Reader, to whoſe judgement it is left, might finde thoſe Rules obſerved in the Narration it ſelf, then told him in the Preface by a vaine Anticipation.

I will only profeſſe to follow that one Rule, Truth, to which all the reſt (like the reſt of Morall Vertues to that of Juſtice) may be reduced, againſt which there are many waies, beſides plaine falſhood, whereby a Writer may offend. Some Hiſtorians, who ſeeme to abhorre direct falſhood, have notwithſtanding dreſſed Truth in ſuch improper Veſtments, as if they brought her forth to act the

ſame part that falſhood would; and taught her by Rhetoricall diſguiſes, partiall concealements, and invective expreſſions, inſtead of informing, to ſeduce a Reader, and carry the judgement of Poſterity after that Byas which themſelves have made. It was the opinion of a learned Biſhop of *England*, not long ago deceaſed, that Cardinall *Baronius* his Annals did more wound the Proteſtant Cauſe, then the Controverſies of *Bellarmine*: And it may well be true. For againſt the unexpected ſtroke of partiall Hiſtory the ward is not ſo ready, as againſt that Polemike writing, where Hoſtility is profeſſed with open face.

This fault I have indeavoured to avoid: But it is my misfortune to undertake ſuch a ſubject, in which to avoid partiality, is not very eaſie: But to eſcape the ſuſpition or cenſure of it, is almoſt impoſſible for the cleereſt integrity that ever wrote. Others, I ſuppoſe, will handle this Theame; and becauſe that none, perchance, may perfectly pleaſe, I ſhall, in the behalfe of all, intreat a Reader, that in his cenſure he would deale with the Writings of men, as with mankinde it ſelfe, to call that the beſt, which is leaſt bad.

The Subject of this work is a Civill War, a War indeed as much *more then Civill*, and as full of miracle, both in the cauſes and effects of it, as was ever obſerved in any Age; a

Warre

Warre as cruell as unnaturall; that has produced as much rage of Swords, as much bitterneſſe of Pens, both publike and private, as was ever knowne; and divided the underſtandings of men, as well as their affections, in ſo high a degree, that ſcarce could any vertue gaine due applauſe, any reaſon give ſatisfaction, or any Relation obtaine credit, unleſſe amongſt men of the ſame ſide. It were therefore a preſumptuous madneſſe, to think that this poore and weake Diſcourſe, which can deſerve no applauſe from either ſide, ſhould obtaine from both ſo much as pardon; or that they ſhould here meet in cenſure, which in nothing elſe have concurred.

I cannot therefore be ſo ſtupid, as not at all to be ſenſible of the taske impoſed on me, or the great envy which attends it; which other men who have written Hiſtories, upon farre leſſe occaſion have diſcourſed of at large in their Prefaces. And *Tacitus* himſelfe, complaining of thoſe ill times which were the unhappy ſubject of his Annals, though he wrote not in the time of the ſame Princes, under whom thoſe things were acted; yet becauſe the Families of many men, who had then been ignominious, were yet in being, could not but diſcourſe how much happier thoſe Writers were, who had taken more ancient and proſperous times for their Argument; ſuch

as

as he there expreſſes, in which the great and glorious actions of the old Romans, their honourable Atchievements, and exemplary Vertues are recorded.

And I could have wiſhed more then my life (being my ſelf inconſiderable) that for the Publike ſake, my Theame could rather have been the proſperity of theſe Nations, the Honour and happineſſe of this King, and ſuch a bleſſed Condition of both, as might have reached all the ends, for which Government was firſt ordained in the world: Then the deſcription of Shipwracks, Ruines, and Deſolations. Yet theſe things truly recorded and obſerved, may be of good Uſe, and benefit Poſterity in divers kinds. For though the preſent Actions, or rather ſufferings of theſe (once happy) Nations, are of ſo high a marke and conſideration, as might, perchance, throw themſelves into the knowledge of Poſterity by Tradition, and the weight of their owne Fame: Yet it may much conduce to the benefit of that knowledge, to have the true cauſes, originall, and growth of them repreſented by an honneſt Pen.

For the truth of this plaine and naked Diſcourſe, which is here preſented to the publike view, containing a briefe Narration of thoſe Diſtractions which have fallen amongſt us, during the ſitting of this preſent Parliament;

as

as alſo ſome Paſſages, and viſible Actions of the former Government (whether probably conducing to theſe preſent calamities or not, of which let the Reader judge) I appeale only to the memory of any Engliſh man, whoſe yeares have been enow to make him know the Actions that were done; and whoſe converſation has been enough publike, to let him heare the Common Voice, and Diſcourſes of People upon thoſe Actions, to his memory I ſay, do I appeale, whether ſuch Actions were not done, and ſuch Judgements made upon them, as are here related. In which perchance ſome Readers may be put in minde of their owne thoughts heretofore; which thoughts have ſince, like *Nebuchadnezzars* dreame, departed from them. An Engliſh Gentleman, who went to travell when this Parliament was called, and returned when theſe differences were growne among us, hearing what Diſcourſes were daily made, affirmed, That the Parliament of *England* (in his opinion) was more miſ-underſtood in *England* then at *Rome*; And that there was greater need to remember our own Countrymen, then to informe ſtrangers of what was paſt; So much (ſaid he) have they ſeemed to forget the things themſelves, and their own Nations concerning them.

But where Warre continues, people are inforced to make their reſidence in ſeverall

Quarters, and therefore ſeverall, according to the places where they converſe, muſt their information be concerning the condition and ſtate of things. From whence ariſes not onely a variety, but a great diſcrepancy for the moſt part in the Writings of thoſe who record the paſſages of ſuch times. And therefore it has ſeldome happened, but that in ſuch times of calamity and Warre, Hiſtorians have much diſſented from each other. *Franciſcus Haræus* compiled Annals of the bloody and fierce Warres in the *Netherlands*, when ſome of thoſe Provinces fell from the obedience of *Philip* the ſecond, King of *Spaine*: Which buſineſſe he relates in ſuch a way, as muſt in probability lead a Reader to believe that the King and his Officers were altogether innocent, and the people of thoſe Countries the only cauſers of their own Calamity. *Meteranus* wrote the Hiſtory of thoſe very times; which who ſo reads, muſt needs make a contrary cenſure concerning the occaſion of that Warre. The like diſcrepancy hath been found in Hiſtorians of all ages and Nations, and therefore not to be much wondred at, if it now happen.

But that which of all other is moſt likely to be differently related (becauſe informations will not agree in ſuch a diſtance) is concerning the actions of Warre and Souldiery; and in the time of this Warre, it is a thing of extreme

extreme difficulty (I might ſay of impoſſibility) for thoſe of one Party to be truly informed of all the Councels, or the very Performances and Actions of Commanders and Souldiers on the other ſide. How much valour the Engliſh Nation on both ſides have been guilty of in this unnaturall Warre, the World muſt needs know in the generall fame. But for particulars, how much Worth, Vertue, and Courage, ſome particular Lords, Gentlemen, and others have ſhewed, unleſſe both ſides do write, will never perfectly be known. My reſidence hath bin, during theſe Wars, in the quarters, and under the protection of the Parliament; and whatſoever is briefly related of the Souldiery, being toward the end of this Book, is according to that light which I diſcerned there. For whatſoever I have miſſed concerning the other Party, I can make no other Apology then ſuch as *Meteranus* (whom I named before) doth in the Preface to his Hiſtory, *De Belgnis tumultibus*. Whoſe words are thus: *Quòd plura de Reformatorum, & patriæ defenſorum, quàm de Partis adverſæ rebus geſtis expoſuerim; mirum haudquaquam eſt, quoniam plus Commercii, & familiaritatis mihi cum ipſis, & major indagandi, opportunitas fuit. Si Pars adverſa idem tali probitate præſtiterit, & ediderit; Poſteritas geſta omnia legere, & liquido cognoſcere magno cum fructu poterit.* In like manner may I averre, that if in this diſcourſe more

particulars are ſet down, concerning the actions of thoſe men who defended the Parliament, then of them that warred againſt it; it was becauſe my converſation gave me more light on that ſide; to whom, as I have indeavoured to give no more then what is due, ſo I have caſt no blemiſhes on the other; nor beſtowed any more characters, then what the truth of Story muſt require. If thoſe that write on the other ſide will uſe the ſame candour, there is no feare but that poſterity may receive a full information concerning the unhappy diſtractions of theſe Kingdoms.

This I muſt adde, that to inform the world of the right nature, cauſes, and growth of theſe Diſtractions, it will require that the Diſcourſe begin from precedent times; which I ſhall indeavour to deduce down to the preſent with as much brevity, as the neceſſity of unfolding truth can poſſibly admit.

Neither is it needful to begin the Story from times of any great diſtance; or to mention the Government of our moſt ancient Princes; but from that Prince (freſh in the memory of ſome yet living) who firſt eſtabliſhed the Reformed Religion in this Kingdome, and according to that, ſetled a new intereſt in the State; which was moſt behoofefull and requiſite for her Succeſſors to follow, and much conducing, beſides the glory of Almighty God, to their own Honour, Power, and Greatneſſe.

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THE HISTORY OF THE PARLIAMENT OF England.

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QUeene ELIZABETH, of glorious Memory, together with that great Stock of Wealth and Honour, which her prudent and juſt Government had brought to the Engliſh Nation, had enriched them beſides with a greater Treaſure (which we may juſtly account the

cauſe of all the reſt) Religion reformed from Popiſh Superſtition.

That Reformation engaged the Queene in a new Intereſt of State, to ſide with the Proteſtants againſt thoſe Potent Monarchs of the other Religion, which ſeemed at the beginning as much danger and diſadvantage to her, as it proved in concluſion ſecurity and Honour; ſo impoſſible it is for any diſadvantage to prevaile over them that helpe the Lord againſt the Mighty.

That Storme from *France*, which ſo much threatned the weake beginnings of her Reigne, was ſuddenly blowne over by the death of HENRY the ſecond, and ſome few Moneths after of his Sonne FRANCIS, who had married the Queene of *Scotland*; the danger which remained greateſt was from *Spaine*, where PHILIP the ſecond then reigned, a Prince not greater in Dominion, Treaſure, and Armies, then deeply engaged againſt the Proteſtant Religion, by the inſtigation and aſſiſtance of the Jeſuites, an *Order*, which in the Age before had beene highly countenanced by Pope PAUL the third, in oppoſition to the Goſpell-Doctrine, that then began to ſpread apace in *Germany*, and other parts.

The whole *Order* of *Jeſuites* (as endeavouring to ſet up one Temporall Kingdome of *Chriſtendome*, ſuitable to the *Papall Hierarchy*) applyed their ſervice altogether to the *Monarchy* of *Spaine*, as being then far the greateſt in *Europe* (and fitteſt for their purpoſe) by the late uniting of ſo many Kingdomes and Dutchies under the perſon of CHARLES the Emperour, who by a fortunate birthright inherited, together with *Caſtile*, and *Arragon*, and all the great Acquiſitions of his Grandfather FERDINAND in *Italy*, and the *Weſt Indies*, the rich and uſefull patrimony of his Father PHILIP, *Burgundy*, and the *Netherlands*; all theſe he had left intirely to his Sonne PHILIP, who to ſo large a Territory, had made that ſtrong addition of the

the Kingdome of *Portugall*, and might ſeeme an Enemy too mighty for *England* and all the *Proteſtants* of *Europe* to oppoſe.

But Queene ELIZABETH had woven the intereſt of her own State ſo inſeparably into the cauſe of Religion it ſelfe, that it was hard to overthrow one without the ruine of the other. And God, who had given her ſo much grace and courage as to rely wholly upon him, did with that Almighty hand, not onely hold her up from ſinking, but lift her above the heads of all her enemies.

By what degrees and means ſhe atchieved the great Actions of her reigne, and brought ſo much proſperity to her Nation, it is not the ſcope of this diſcourſe to relate at large (for her Hiſtory is not the worke in hand) but only in briefe to declare that before her death ſhe was the happy inſtrument of God to promote the Proteſtant Religion in all parts. She curbed the Spaniſh greatneſſe by ſupporting *France* from ruine, to give ſome balance to the other, as ſhe preſerved *Scotland* from being ſwallowed up by the French before. She protected the *Hollanders* againſt him, vanquiſhed his Armies both by Land and Sea, with many other ſuch things as might ſeeme too much to be the atchievements of one Reigne. And laſt of all, ſhe reduced *Ireland* wholly to obedience, notwithſtanding all the ſubtill machinations of *Spain*, and open aſſiſtance given in Armes to her Iriſh Rebels. All which ſhe accompliſhed by the juſtice and prudence of her government, by making the right uſe of her Subjects hearts, hands and Purſes in a Parliamentary way; as alſo ſecuring her own Kingdome by ſtrengthning the hands of Proteſtants abroad; inſomuch as ſhe ſtood at laſt above the reach of any enemy by open warre; and protected by God, though often attempted by domeſtick Treaſons and Aſſaſinations, till in the end ſhe died in a good old age, leaving to her Succeſſor King JAMES the Kingdom of

England in an happier condition then ever it was; the Kingdome of *Ireland* wholly ſubdued and reduced, to reap for himſelfe the harveſt of all her labour and expence; and nothing to do for it, but to propagate the true Faith in that Kingdome, which ſhe prevented by death could not performe; and was, in probability, an eaſie taske for King JAMES at that time; much conducing, beſides the honour of God, to his owne Temporall ſtrength and greatneſſe, if he had onely gone fairely on in that way which Queene ELIZABETH had made plaine for him.

The Proſperity of *England* ſeemed then at the height or ἀκμὴ; and it pleaſes God that States many times ſhall decline from their happineſſe without any apparent ſignes to us, or reaſons that we can give, as a Heathen complaines:

Oh faciles dare ſumma Deos, eademque tueri
Difficiles? Lucan.
How eaſie are the Gods to raiſe States high,
But not to keepe them ſo?

Theſe things have made ſome high-reaching Writers impute the raiſing and declination of Kingdomes and Common-wealths to certaine aſpects of heavenly Conſtellations, to Conjunctions, and Oppoſitions of Planets, and various Ecclipſes of Celeſtiall Luminaries; others, to an hidden ſtrength, and ſecret efficacy of Numbers themſelves; and moſt men to the perpetuall Rotation of fortune: but the judgements of God in thoſe things are paſt our finding out, and they are too wiſe, who are not content ſometimes to wonder.

For King JAMES, the Succeſſour to Queene ELIZABETH, was a wiſe and learned Prince, of diſpoſition mercifull and gracious, excellently grounded in that Religion which he profeſſed, as the world may finde by his extant writings; a Prince of whom *England* conceived wonderfull hope, and received with great joy and Triumph; but he did not beginne where his Predeceſſor left, proceeding rather in a contrary way

way; what the reaſons of it were, I will not at all preſume to deliver my opinion, though ſome have beene bold to write and publiſh of late yeeres, that it was feare for his own Perſon, that made him to temporize with *Rome*, conſidering the boldneſſe of Jeſuiticall Aſſaſines: others more candidly conceived it might be his great deſire of peace and union with other Princes, though he might erre in the meanes of attaining that end; for he was by nature a great ſeeker of Peace, and abhorrer of bloodſhed, according to that Motto which he ever uſed, *Beati Pacifici*. I cannot ſearch into mens thoughts, but onely relate the Actions which appeared.

King JAMES, at the beginning of his Reigne, made a Peace with *Spaine*, which was brought very low by Queene ELIZABETH, and had beene neerer to ruine in all probability, had ſhe lived a few yeares longer; the Eſtates of the united Provinces of the *Netherlands*, thoſe uſefull Confederates to *England*, began to be deſpiſed by the Engliſh Court, under a vaine ſhadow in ſtead of a reaſon, that they were an ill example for a Monarch to cheriſh. Then began ſecret Treaties to paſſe betwixt *Rome* and the Court of *England*; care to be taken about reconciliation of Religions; the rigour of Penall Lawes againſt the Papiſts (notwithſtanding that odious plot of the Gunpowder Treaſon) was abated; the pompe of Prelacy, and multitude of Ceremonies, encreaſed daily in the Church of *England*, and according to that were all Civill Affaires managed both at home and abroad.

Neither was it eaſie for the King to turne himſelfe out of that way, when he was once entred into it; ſo that at laſt the Papiſts began by degrees to be admitted neerer to him in ſervice and converſation. Exceeding deſirous he then was to match the Prince his Sonne to the Infanta of *Spaine*, about which many and long Treaties paſſed, wherein not onely the Spaniard, but the Pope, made many preſent advantages of the Kings

earneſt deſires, and many waies deluded him, as it appeared plainely by his owne Letters to his Ambaſſadours there, ſince found and publiſhed.

Thus was the King by degrees brought, not onely to forſake, but to oppoſe his owne intereſt both in civill and religious affaires, which was moſt unhappily ſeene in that cauſe (as the Duke of ROHAN obſerved,) wherein, beſides the intereſt of all Proteſtants, and the honour of his Nation, the eſtate and livelihood of his owne children were at the height concerned, the Palatinate buſineſſe.

From hence flowed a farther miſchiefe; for the King being loath perchance that the whole people ſhould take notice of thoſe waies in which he trod, grew extremely diſ-affected to Parliaments, calling them for nothing but to ſupply his expences, diſſolving them when they began to meddle with State Affaires, and divers times impriſoning the Members for Speeches made in Parliament, againſt the fundamentall priviledges of that high Court.

Parliaments being thus deſpiſed and abuſed, projects againſt the Lawes were found out to ſupply the Kings expences, which were not ſmall; and the King (whether to avoid the envy of thoſe things, or the trouble of them) did in a manner put off all buſineſſe of Government from himſelfe into the hands of a young Favourite, the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, whom he had raiſed from a Knights fourth Sonne, to that great height, and entruſted with the chiefe Offices of the Kingdome; beſides the great power which he had by that extraordinary favour of confering all places and preferments both in Church and State.

This Duke, not long before the death of King JAMES, was growne into extraordinary favour and intireneſſe with the Prince, whom he afterward ſwayed no leſſe then he had before his father; like an unhappy vapour exhaled from the earth to ſo great an height, as to cloud not only the riſing, but the ſetting Sunne.

King

King CHARLES, with great hopes and expectation of the people, and no leſſe high expreſſions of love and duty from all in generall, began his Reigne on the 27 of *March*, 1624. and indeed that love which the people bare to his Perſon, had been before teſtified, whileſt he was yet Prince, at his returne from *Spaine*, though the journey it ſelfe had not beene pleaſing to the Kingdome; for when the people ſaw him arrived in ſafety, there needed no publike Edict for thankſgiving or joy; every ſociety and private family (as if the hearts of all had beene in one) did voluntarily aſſemble themſelves together, praiſing God, with ſinging of Pſalmes, with joyfull feaſting, and charity to the poore; inſomuch that I ſuppoſe the like conſent, without any interpoſing authority, hath not been often knowne.

The ſame affections followed him to his Throne; the ſame hopes and faire preſages of his future Government, whileſt they conſidered the temperance of his youth, how cleare he had lived from perſonall vice, being growne to the age of 23. how untainted of thoſe licentious extravagances, which unto that age and fortune are not only incident, but almoſt thought excuſable.

But ſome men ſuſpended their hopes, as doubting what to finde of a Prince ſo much and ſo long reſerved; for he had never declared himſelfe of any Faction, or ſcarſe interpoſed in any State affaires, though ſome things had been managed in his fathers Reigne, with much detriment to his owne preſent and future fortunes. Yet that by the people in generall was well cenſured, as an effect of his piety and obedience to the King his father, and happy preſages gathered from it, That ſo good an obeyer would prove a juſt Ruler.

They wondered alſo to ſee him ſuddenly linked in ſuch an intire friendſhip with the Duke of BUCKINGHAM; for extraordinary Favourites do uſually eclipſe and much depreſſe the Heire apparent of a Crowne,

Crowne, or elſe they are conceived ſo to do; and upon that reaſon hated, and ruined by the ſucceeding Prince; in which kinde all ancient and moderne Stories are full of examples.

In the beginning of King CHARLES his Reigne, a Parliament was called, and adjourned to *Oxford*, the plague raging extremely at *London*, where the Duke of BUCKINGHAM was highly queſtioned, but by the King (not without the griefe and ſad preſage of many people, that private affections would too much prevaile in him againſt the publike) he was protected againſt the Parliament, which for that onely purpoſe was diſſolved, after two Subſidies had been given, and before the Kingdome received reliefe in any one grievance; as is expreſſed in the firſt and generall Remonſtrance of this preſent Parliament, where many other unhappy paſſages of thoſe times are briefly touched; as that the King, immediately after the diſſolution of that Parliament, contrived a Warre againſt *Spaine*, in which the deſigne was unhappily laid, and contrary to the advice which at that time had been given by wiſe men, who perſwaded him to invade the *Weſt Indies*; a way, no doubt, farre more eaſie and hopefull for *Englaud* to prevaile againſt *Spaine* then any other: inſtead of that, the King with great expence of Treaſure, raiſed an Army and Fleet to aſſault *Cales*, the Duke of BUCKINGHAM bearing the Title both of Admirall and Generall, though he went not himſelfe in perſon; but the matter was ſo ordered, that the expedition proved altogether ſucceſſeleſſe, and as diſhonourable as expenſive.

They complained likewiſe of another deſigne (which indeed was much lamented by the people of *England* in generall) about that time put in practice, a thing deſtructive to the higheſt intereſt of the Nation, the maintenance of Proteſtant Religion; a Fleet of Engliſh Ships were ſet forth, and delivered over to the French, by whoſe ſtrength all the Sea forces of *Rochell* were

were ſcattered and deſtroyed, a loſſe to them irrecoverable, and the firſt ſtep to their ruine.

Neither was this loane of Ships from *England* (for ſuch was the peoples complaint and ſuſpition againſt thoſe, who at that time ſtood at the Helme) ſuppoſed to proceed ſo much from friendſhip to the State of *France*, as from deſigne againſt Religion; for immediately upon it, the King, by what advice the people underſtood not, made a breach with *France*, by taking their Ships, to a great value, without making any recompence to the Engliſh, whoſe Goods were thereupon imbarr'd, and confiſcate in that Kingdome.

In revenge of this, a brave Army was raiſed in *England*, and commanded by the Duke of BUCKINGHAM in perſon, who landing at the Iſle of *Rhea*, was at the firſt encounter victorious againſt the French; but after few Moneths ſtay there, the matter was ſo unhappily carried, the Generall being unexperienced in Warlike affaires, that the French prevailed, and gave a great defeat, where many gallant Gentlemen loſt their lives, and the Nation much of their ancient Honour.

From thence proceeded another ſtep to the ruine of *Rochell*; the ſick and wounded Engliſh were ſent into that City, and relieved by the beſieged Rochellers, out of that little proviſion which they then had, upon faithfull promiſe of ſupplies from *England* in the ſame kinde: The proviſions of *Rochell* were little enough for their owne reliefe at that time, if we conſider what ability the French King had to continue that ſiege; when to the proper wealth and greatneſſe of his Crowne, was added that reputation and ſtrength, which his late ſucceſſe againſt all the other Proteſtant Garriſons in *France* had brought.

The beſieged Rochellers, not doubting at all of the due and neceſſary ſupply of Victuall from *England*, ſent their Ships thither for that purpoſe; but

thoſe Ships, whoſe returne with bread was ſo earneſtly expected, were ſtayed in *England* by an *Imbargo*; and ſo long ſtayed, till that unhappy Towne was enforced to yeeld by famine, the ſharpeſt of all Enemies.

But in the meane time, whileſt theſe Ships with Victuall were detained, a great Army was raiſed in *England* for reliefe of *Rochell*, but too great was the delay of thoſe preparations, till time was paſt, and that Army in the end disbanded by the ſad death of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM their Generall, who was ſtabbed at *Portſmouth* by a private Gentleman, JOHN FELTON.

This FELTON was a Souldier of a low ſtature, and no promiſing aſpect; of diſpoſition ſerious, and melancholly, but religious in the whole courſe of his life and converſation; which laſt I do not mention out of purpoſe to countenance his unlawfull act, as ſuppoſing him to have had (as ſome did then talke) any inſpiration or calling of God to it: His confeſſions to his friends, both publike and private, were, That he had often ſecret motions to that purpoſe, which he had reſiſted and prayed againſt, and had almoſt overcome, untill he was at laſt confirmed in it, by reading the late diſſolved Parliaments Remonſtrance againſt the Duke: That then his conſcience told him it was juſt and laudable, to be the executioner of that man, whom the higheſt Court of Judicature, the repreſentative body of the Kingdome, had condemned as a Traytor. But let Poſterity cenſure it as they pleaſe; certain it is, that FELTON did much repent him of the unlawfulneſſe of the fact, out of no feare of death, or puniſhment here, for he wiſhed his hand cut off before the execution, which his Jugdes could not doome by the Lawes of *England*.

The King had not long before broken off another Parliament, called in the ſecond yeare of his Reigne, in which the Petition of Right was granted, to the great

great rejoycing of the people. But it proved immediately to be no reliefe at all to them; for the Parliament preſently diſſolved, the King acted over the ſame things, which formerly he had done; and that grant, inſtead of fortifying the Kingdomes Liberty, made it appeare to be more defenceleſſe then before, that Lawes themſelves were no barre againſt the Kings will. The Parliament in hope of gracious Acts, had declared an intent to give his Majeſty five Subſidies, the full proportion of which five Subſidies was, after the diſſolution of that Parliament, exacted by Commiſſion of Loane from the people, and thoſe impriſoned which refuſed the payment of that Loane: Great ſummes of money were required and raiſed by privy Seales: A Commiſſion for ſqueezing the Subject by way of Excize: Souldiers were billited upon them: And a deſigne laid to inſlave the Nation by a force of German Horſe: with many other things of that nature.

Thoſe affaires of State which concerned Confederates abroad, had been managed with as much diſadvantage, and infelicity to them, as diſhonour to the Engliſh Nation, and prejudice to the Cauſe of Religion it ſelfe.

Peace was made with *Spaine* without conſent of Parliament; by which all hope was utterly loſt, of re-eſtabliſhing the Kings neereſt kinred in their juſt Dominion; and the Proteſtant Religion much weakened in *Germany*. What Counſells had then influence upon the Court of *England*, might be the amazement of a wiſe man to conſider; and the plaine truth muſt needs ſeeme a paradox to poſterity; as that the Proteſtant Religion, both at home and abroad, ſhould ſuffer much by the Government of two Kings; of whom the former in his own perſon wrote more learnedly in defence of it; and the latter in his owne perſon lived more conformably to the Rules of it, then any of their Contemporary Princes in *Europe*.

But the Civill Affaires of State were too ill managed, to protect, or at leaſt to propagate true Religion; or elſe the neglect of Religion was the cauſe that Civill Affaires were bleſſed with no more honour and proſperity. The right waies of Queen ELIZABETH, who advanced both, had been long ago forſaken, and the deviation grew daily farther, and more fatall to the Kingdom. Which appeared in a direct contrariety to all particulars of her Reigne. Titles of Honour were made more honourable by her, in being conferred ſparingly, and therefore probably upon great deſert, which afterwards were become of leſſe eſteem, by being not onely too frequently conferred, but put to open ſale, and made too often the purchaſe of Mechannicks, or the reward of vitious perſons.

At the death of that Duke, the people were poſſeſſed with an unuſuall joy, which they openly teſtified by ſuch expreſſions, as indeed were not thought fit nor decent by wiſe men, upon ſo tragicall and ſad an accident, which in a chriſtian conſideration might move compaſſion, whatſoever the offences of the man were.

To ſuch people that diſtick of *Seneca* might give anſwer:

Res eſt ſacra miſer; noli mea tangere fata:
Sacrilegæ Buſtis abſtinuere manus.

Sacred is woe; touch not my death with ſcorne:
Even ſacrilegious hands have Tombs forborne.

And it may be that God was offended at the exceſſe of their joy, in that he quickly let them ſee, the benefit was not ſo great to them as they expected by it; but his judgements are too high for men to ſearch. True it is, that the people in generall loving the Kings Perſon, and very unwilling to harbour the leaſt opinion of ill in him, looked upon the Duke, as the onely hinderance of the Kingdomes happineſſe; ſuppoſing, that though other Stateſmen might

might afterwards ariſe, of as bad or worſe intentions, then the Duke; yet none would have ſo great a power for execution of them; nor any other Genius be ever found, to have ſo great a maſtery over the Kings Genius. But it is certaine, that men did much therefore rejoyce at the death of this Duke, becauſe they did before much feare what miſchiefe might befall a Kingdome, where that man, who knew himſelfe extreamly hated by the people, had all the keyes of the Kingdome in his hand, as being Lord Admirall and Warden of the Cinque-Ports; having the command of all the Souldiers, and the onely power to reward and raiſe them.

Theſe joyes and hopes of men laſted not long, for in the ſame yeer (being the fourth of King CHARLES) and after the death of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, another Parliament was diſſolved; and then the Priviledges of that high Court more broken then ever before. Six Members of the Houſe of Commons, who had been forward in vindicating the Priviledges of Parliament, were committed cloſe Priſoners for many moneths together, without the liberty of uſing books, pen, inke and paper, while they were detained in this condition; and not admitted Bayle according to Law: They were alſo vexed with informations in inferiour Courts; where they were ſentenced, and fined for matters done in Parliament; and the payment of ſuch Fines extorted from them. Some were enforced to put in ſecurity of good behaviour, before they could be releaſed: The reſt who refuſed to be bound, were detained divers yeares after in cuſtody, of whom one Sir JOHN ELLIOT, a Gentleman of able parts, that had been forwardeſt in expreſſion of himſelfe, for the freedome of his Country, and taxing the unjuſt actions of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, while that Duke lived (though the truth be, that thoſe Speeches of his were no other then what carried the publike conſent in them) dyed by

the harſhneſſe of his impriſonment, which would admit of no relaxation, though for healths ſake; he petitioned for it often, and his Phyſitian gave in teſtimony to the ſame purpoſe. The freedome that Sir JOHN ELIOT uſed in Parliament, was by the people in generall applauded, though much taxed by the Courtiers, and cenſur'd by ſome of a more politike reſerve (conſidering the times) in that kind that TACITUS cenſures THRASEAS PÆTUS, as thinking ſuch freedom a needleſſe, and therefore a fooliſh thing, where no cure could be hoped by it. *Sibi periculum, nec aliis libertatem.*

After the breaking off this Parliament (as the Hiſtorian ſpeaketh of Roman liberty, after the battell of PHILIPPI, *nunquam poſt hoc prælium, &c.*) the people of *England* for many years never looked back to their ancient liberty. A Declaration was publiſhed by the King, wherein aſpertions were laid upon ſome Members; but indeed the Court of Parliament it ſelfe was declared againſt. All which the dejected people were forced to read with patience, and allow againſt the dictate of their own reaſon.

The people of *England* from that time were deprived of the hope of Parliaments; and all things ſo managed by publike Officers, as if never ſuch a day of account were to come.

I ſhall for methods ſake firſt of all make a ſhort enumeration of ſome of the chiefe grievances of the Subjects, which ſhall be truly and plainly related; as likewiſe ſome vices of the Nation in generall, that the Reader may the better judge of the cauſes of ſucceeding troubles, during the ſpace of ſeven or eight yeares after the diſſolution of that Parliament, and then give ſome account concerning the ſeverall diſpoſitions of the people of ENGLAND, and their different cenſures of the Kings government during thoſe years; touching by the way ſomewhat of the manners and cuſtoms of the Court of ENGLAND, and

and then briefly of the condition of Eccleſiaſticall affaires, and the cenſures of men concerning that.

CHAP. II.

A briefe Relation of ſome grievances of the Kingdome. The various opinions of men concerning the preſent Government. The condition of the Court and Clergy of England. *Some obſervations of a ſtranger, concerning the Religion of the Engliſh people.*

IT cannot but be thought, by all wiſe and honeſt men, that the ſinnes of *England* were at a great height, that the injuſtice of Governours, and vices of private men, were very great; which have ſince called downe from Almighty God ſo ſharpe a judgement; and drawne on by degrees ſo calamitous and conſuming a Warre. Thoſe particular crimes an Engliſh Hiſtorian can take no pleaſure to relate, but might rather deſire to be ſilent in, and ſay with STATIUS:

——*Nos certe taceamus, & obruta multa*
Nocte tegi noſtræ patiamur crimina gentis.
Let us be ſilent, and from after times
Conceale our own unhappy Nations crimes.

But to be ſilent in that, were great injuſtice and impiety toward God, to relate his judgements upon a Kingdome; and forget the ſinnes of that Kingdom, which were the cauſe of them. The Heathen Hiſtorians do well inſtruct us in that point of piety; who never almoſt deſcribe any Civill Warre, or publike affliction, without relating at the beginning, how vitious and corrupted their State was at that time grown, how

how faulty both the Rulers and People were, and how fit to be puniſhed, either by themſelves or others. Nor doe any of the Roman Poets undertake to write of that great and miſerable Civill Warre, which deſtroyed the preſent State, and enſlaved poſterity; without firſt making a large enumeration of ſuch cauſes; how wicked the manners of *Rome* were growne, how the chiefe Rulers were given to avarice and oppreſſion, and the whole State drowned in luxury, luſts and riot, as you may ſee upon that ſubject in two the moſt elegant of them. And ſhall we Chriſtians, who adore the true God, and live under the Goſpell-light, not be ſenſible under ſo heavy a judgement of our owne offences.

To begin with the faults of the higher powers, and their illegall oppreſſion of the people, during theſe eight or nine yeers, in which Parliaments were denyed to *Englaud*, which I briefiy touch, referring the Reader to a more full narration in the Remonſtrance; multitudes of Monopolies were granted by the King, and laid upon all things of moſt common and neceſſary uſe, ſuch as Sope, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-cole, and many other of that kinde.

Regia privatis creſcunt æraria damnis. Claud.

By loſſe of private men th'Exchequer growes.

Large ſums of Money were exacted thorow the whole Kingdome for default of Knighthood, under the ſhadow of an obſolete Law. Tonnage and Poundage were received without the ordinary courſe of Law; and though they were taken under pretence of guarding the Seas, yet that great Tax of Ship-money was ſet on foot under the ſame colour; by both which there was charged upon the people ſome years neere 700000. li. though the Seas at that time were not well guarded.

Theſe things were accompanied with an enlargement of Forreſts, contrary to *Magna Charta*, the forcing of Coat and Conduct-Money, taking away the

the Armes of Trayned Bands in divers Counties, diſarming the people by engroſſing of Gunpowder, keeping it in the Tower of *London*, and ſetting ſo high a rate upon it, that the poorer ſort were not able to buy it; nor could any have it without licenſe; whereby ſeverall parts of the Kingdome were left deſtitute of their neceſſary defence.

No Courts of Judicature could give redreſſe to the people for theſe illegall ſufferings, whileſt Judges were diſplaced by the King, for not complying with his will, and ſo awed, that they durſt not do their duties: For to hold a rod over them, the clauſe, *Quandiu ſe bene geſerint*, was left out of their Patents, and a new clauſe, *Durante bene placito*, inſerted.

New illegall Oathes were enforced upon the Subjects, and new Judicatories erected without Law; and when Commiſſions were granted for examining the exceſſe of Fees, and great exactions diſcovered, the Delinquents were compounded with, not onely for the time paſt, but immunity to offend for the time to come; which in ſtead of redreſſing, did confirme, and encreaſe the grievance of the Subjects.

By this time, all thoughts of ever having a Parliament againe, were quite baniſhed; ſo many oppreſſions had been ſet on foot, ſo many illegall actions done, that the onely way to juſtifie the miſchiefes already done, was to do that one greater, To take away the meanes which was ordained to redreſſe them, the lawfull Government of *England* by Parliaments.

Whileſt the Kingdome was in this condition, the ſerious and juſt men of *England*, who were no way intereſſed in the emolument of theſe oppreſſions, could not but entertaine ſad thoughts and preſages, of what miſchiefe muſt needs follow ſo great an injuſtice; that things carried ſo farre on in a wrong way, muſt needs either inſlave themſelves and poſterity for ever, or require a vindication ſo ſharpe and ſmarting, as that the Nation would groane under it; and though

the times were jolly for the preſent, yet having obſerved the judgement of God upon other ſecure Nations, they could not chuſe but feare the ſequell. Another ſort of men, and eſpecially Lords and Gentlemen, by whom the preſſures of the Government were not much felt, who enjoyed their owne plentifull fortunes, with little or inſenſible detriment, looking no farther then their preſent ſafety and proſperity; and the yet undiſturbed peace of the Nation, whileſt other Kingdomes were embroyled in calamities, and *Germany* ſadly waſted by a ſharpe Warre, did nothing but applaud the happineſſe of *England*, and called thoſe ingratefull and factious ſpirits, who complained of the breach of Lawes and Liberties; That the Kingdome abounded with wealth, plenty, and all kinde of elegancies, more then ever; That it was for the honour of a people, that the Monarch ſhould live ſplendidly, and not be curbed at all in his Prerogative, which would bring him into the greater eſteeme with other Princes, and more enable him to prevaile in Treaties; That what they ſuffered by Monopolies, was inſenſible, and not grievous, if compared with other States; That the Duke of TUSKANY ſate heavier upon his people in that very kinde; That the French King had made himſelfe an abſolute Lord, and quite depreſſed the power of Parliaments, which had beene there as great as in any Kingdome, and yet that *France* flouriſhed, and the Gentry lived well; That the Auſtrian Princes, eſpecially in *Spaine*, layed heavy burdens upon their Subjects.

Thus did many of the Engliſh Gentry, by way of compariſon, in ordinary diſcourſe, pleade for their owne ſervitude.

The Courtiers would begin to diſpute againſt Parliaments in their ordinary diſcourſe, That they were cruell to thoſe whom the King favoured, and too injurious to his Prerogative; That the late Parliament ſtood upon too high termes with the King; and that they

they hoped the King ſhould never need any more Parliaments. Some of the greateſt Stateſmen and Privy Counſellors, would ordinarily laugh at the ancient Language of *England*, when the word Liberty of the Subject was named. But theſe Gentlemen, who ſeemed ſo forward in taking up their owne yoake, were but a ſmall part of the Nation (though a number conſiderable enough to make a Reformation hard) compared with thoſe Gentlemen who were ſenſible of their birth-rights, and the true intereſt of the Kingdome; on which ſide the common people in the generality, and Country Freeholders ſtood, who would rationally argue of their owne Rights, and thoſe oppreſſions that were layed upon them.

But the ſins of the Engliſh Nation were too great, to let them hope for an eaſie or ſpeedy redreſſe of ſuch grievances; and the manners of the people ſo much corrupted, as by degrees they became of that temper, which the Hiſtorian ſpeakes of his Romans, *ut nec mala, nec remedia ferre poſſent*, they could neither ſuffer thoſe preſſures patiently, nor quietly endure the cure of them. Prophanneſſe too much abounded every where; and which is moſt ſtrange, where there was no Religion, yet there was Superſtition: Luxury in diet. and exceſſe both in meat and drinke, was crept into the Kingdome in an high degree, not only in the quantity, but in the wanton curioſity. And in abuſe of thoſe good creatures which God had beſtowed upon this plentifull Land, they mixed the vices of divers Nations, catching at every thing that was new and forraigne.

——*Non vulgo nota placebant* Petronius.
Gaudia, non uſu plebejo trita voluptas.
——Old knowne delight ſleight.
They ſcorne, and vulgar bare-worne pleaſure

As much pride and exceſſe was in Appareil, almoſt among all degrees of people, in new fangled and various faſhioned attire; they not only imitated,

but excelled their forraigne patternes; and in fantaſticall geſtures and behaviour, the petulancy of moſt Nations in *Europe*.

Et laxi crines, & tot nova nomina veſtis. Petr.

Looſe haire, and many new found names of clothes.

The ſerious men groaned for a Parliament; but the great Stateſmen plyed it the harder, to compleat that worke they had begun, of ſetting up Prerogative above all Lawes.

The Lord WENTWORTH (afterward created Earle of STRAFFORD for his ſervice in that kinde) was then labouring to oppreſſe *Ireland*, of which he was Deputy; and to begin that worke in a conquered Kingdome, which was intended to be afterward wrought by degrees in *England*: And indeed he had gone very farre and proſperouſly in thoſe waies of Tyranny, though very much to the enda mmaging and ſetting backe of that newly eſtabliſhed Kingdome.

He was a man of great parts, of a deepe reach, ſubtle wit, of ſpirit and induſtry, to carry on his buſineſſe, and ſuch a conſcience as was fit for that worke he was deſigned to. He underſtood the right way, and the Liberty of his Country, as well as any man; for which in former Parliaments, he ſtood up ſtiffely, and ſeemed an excellent Patriot. For thoſe abilities he was ſoone taken off by the King, and raiſed in honour, to be imployed in a contrary way, for inſlaving of his Country, which his ambition eaſily drew him to undertake. To this man, in my opinion, that character which LUCAN beſtowes upon the Roman Curio, in ſome ſort may ſuit.

Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma,
Aut cui plus Leges deberent recta ſequenti:
Perdita tunc urbi nocuerunt ſecula, poſtquam
Ambitus, & Luxus, & opum metuenda facultas,
Tranſverſo mentem dubiam Torrente tulerunt,
Momentumq; fuit mutatus curio rerum.

A man of abler parts *Rome* never bore, (more:
Nor one to whom (whileſt right) the Lawes ow'd
Our State it ſelfe then ſuffer'd, when the tide
Of Avarice, Ambition, factious pride,
To turne his wavering minde quite croſſe began,
Of ſuch high moment was one changed man.

The Court of *England*, during this long vacancy of Parliaments, enjoyed it ſelfe in as much pleaſure and ſplendour, as ever any Court did. The Revels, Triumphs, and Princely Paſtims, were for thoſe many yeares kept up, at ſo great a height, that any ſtranger which travelled into *England*, would verily believe, a Kingdom that looked ſo cheerefully in the face, could not be ſick in any part.

The Queene was fruitfull, and now growne of ſuch an age, as might ſeeme to give her priviledge of a farther ſociety with the King, then bed and board; and make her a partner of his affaires and buſineſſe; which his extreme affection did more encourage her to challenge: That conjugall love, as an extraordinary vertue of a King, in midſt of ſo many temptations, the people did admire and honour.

But the Queenes power did by degrees give priviledge to Papiſts; and among them, the moſt witty, and Jeſuited, to converſe, under the name of civility and Courtſhip, not only with inferiour Courtiers, but the King himſelfe, and to ſowe their ſeed in what ground they thought beſt; and by degrees, as in complement to the Queene, Nuntio's from the Pope were received in the Court of *England*, PANZANI, CON, and ROSETTI; the King himſelfe maintaining in diſcourſe, That he ſaw no reaſon why he might not receive an Embaſſadour from the Pope, being a Temporall Prince. But thoſe Nuntio's were not entertained with publike Ceremony; ſo that the people in generall tooke no great notice of them; and the Courtiers were confident of the Kings Religion, by his due frequenting Prayers and Sermons.

The Clergy, whoſe dependance was meerely upon the King, were wholly taken up in admiration of his happy Government, which they never concealed from himſelfe, as often as the Pulpit gave them acceſſe to his eare; and not onely there, but at all meetings, they diſcourſed with joy upon that Theam; affirming confidently, that no Prince in *Europe* was ſo great a friend to the Church, as King CHARLES; That Religion flouriſhed no where but in *England*; and no reformed Church retained the face and dignity of a Church but that: Many of them uſed to deliver their opinion, That God had therefore ſo ſeverely puniſhed the Palatinate, becauſe their Sacriledge had beene ſo great in taking away the endowments of Biſhopricks.

Queene ELIZABETH her ſelfe, who had reformed Religion, was but coldly praiſed, and all her vertues forgotten, when they remembred how ſhe cut ſhort the Biſhoprick of *Ely*.

HENRY the eight was much condemned by them, for ſeizing upon the Abbies, and taking ſo much out of the ſeverall Biſhopricks. as he did in the 37 yeer of his Reigne. To maintaine therefore that ſplendour of a Church, which ſo much pleaſed them, was become their higheſt endeavour; eſpecially after they had gotten in the yeare 1633. an Archbiſhop after their owne heart, Doctor LAUD; who had before for divers yeares ruled the Clergy, in the ſeceſſion of Archbiſhop ABBOT, a man of better temper and diſcretion; which diſcretion or vertue to conceale, would be an injury to that Archbiſhop; he was a man who wholly followed the true intereſt of *England*, and that of the Reformed Churches in *Europe*, ſo farre as that in his time the Clergy was not much envied here in *England*, nor the Government of Epiſcopacy much diſ-favoured by Proteſtants beyond the Seas. Not onely the pompe of Ceremonies were daily increaſed, and innovations of great ſcandall brought

brought into the Church; but in point of Doctrine, many faire approaches made towards *Rome*; as he that pleaſeth to ſearch may finde in the Books of Biſhop LAUD, MOUNTAGUE, HELYN, POCKLINGTON, and the reſt; or in briefe collected by a Scottiſh Miniſter, Maſter BAILY. And as their friendſhip to *Rome* encreaſed, ſo did their ſcorne to the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas; whom, inſtead of lending that reliefe and ſuccour to them, which God had enabled this rich Iſland to do, they failed in their greateſt extremities, and in ſtead of harbours, became rocks to ſplit them.

Archbiſhop LAUD, who was now growne into great favour with the King, made uſe of it eſpecially to advance the pompe and temporall honour of the Clergy, procuring the Lord Treaſurers place for Doctor JUCKSON, Biſhop of *London*, and indeavouring, as the generall report went, to fix the greateſt temporall preferments upon others of that Coat; inſomuch as the people merrily, when they ſaw that Treaſurer with the other Biſhops, riding to *Weſtminſter*, called it the Church Triumphant: Doctors and Parſons of Pariſhes were made every where Juſtices of Peace, to the great grievance of the Country in civill affaires, and depriving them of their ſpirituall edification.

The Archbiſhop, by the ſame meanes which he uſed to preſerve his Clergy from contempt, expoſed them to envy; and as the wiſeſt could then prophecy, to a more then probability of loſing all: As we reade of ſome men, who being fore-doomed by an Oracle to a bad fortune, have runne into it by the ſame meanes they uſed to prevent it. The like unhappy courſe did the Clergy then take to depreſſe Puritaniſme, which was, to ſet up irreligion it ſelfe againſt it, the worſt weapon which they could have choſen to beat it downe, which appeared eſpecially in point of keeping the Lords day; when not only books were written

written to ſhake the morality of it, as that of *Sunday no Sabbath*, but ſports, and paſtims of jollity and lightneſſe permitted to the Country people upon that day, by publike Authority, and the Warrant commanded to be read in Churches; which inſtead of producing the intended effect, may credibly be thought to have been one motive to a ſtricter obſervance of that day, in that part of the Kingdome, which before had been well devoted; And many men who had before been looſe and careleſſe, began upon that occaſion to enter into a more ſerious conſideration of it, and were aſhamed to be invited by the authority of Church-men, to that which themſelves at the beſt, could but have pardoned in themſelves, as a thing of infirmity.

The example of the Court, where Playes were uſually preſented on Sundaies, did not ſo much draw the Country to imitation, as reflect with diſadvantage upon the Court it ſelfe, and ſowre thoſe other Court paſtims and jollities, which would have reliſhed better without that, in the eyes of all the people, as things ever allowed to the delights of great Princes.

The countenancing of looſeneſſe and irreligion, was, no doubt, a good preparative to the introducing of another Religion: And the power of godlineſſe being beaten downe, Popery might more eaſily by degrees enter; men quickly leave that, of which they never took faſt hold: And though it were queſtionable, whether the Biſhops and great Clergy of *England* aimed at Popery, it is too apparent, ſuch was the deſigne of Romiſh Agents; and the Engliſh Clergy, if they did not their owne worke, did theirs. A ſtranger of that Religion, a Venetian Gentleman, out of his owne obſervations in *England*, will tell you how farre they were going in this kinde; his words are:

The

THe *Univerſities, Biſhops, and Divines of* England, *do daily imbrace Catholike opinions, though they profeſſe it not with open mouth, for feare of the Puritans: For example, They hold that the Church of* Rome *is a true Church; That the Pope is ſuperiour to all Biſhops; That to him it appertaines to call generall Counſels; That it is lawfull to pray for ſoules departed; That Altars ought to be erected; in ſumme they believe all that is taught by the Church, but not by the Court of* Rome.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was much againſt the Court of *Rome*, though not againſt that Church, in ſo high a kinde: For the Doctrine of the Roman Church was no enemy to the pompe of Prelacy; but the Doctrine of the Court of *Rome* would have ſwallowed up all under the Popes Supremacy, and have made all greatneſſe dependant upon him: Which the Archbiſhop conceived would derogate too much from the King in Temporalls, (and therefore hardly to be accepted by the Court) as it would from himſelfe in Spiritualls, and make his Metropoliticall power ſubordinate, which he deſired to hold abſolute and independent within the Realme of *England*.

In the Engliſh Pope.

It is certaine, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (as an Engliſh Gentleman obſerves) would often profeſſe againſt thoſe Tridentine Papiſts, whom only he hated as Papiſts properly ſo called. For at the Councell of *Trent*, all matters concerning the Court of *Rome*, which are of themſelves but diſputable, were determined as points of faith, to be believed upon paine of damnation: But matters of faith indeed concerning the Church of *Rome*, were left diſputable, and no Anathema annexed to them. But that Venetian Gentleman, whom before we cited, declares in what ſtate, for matter of Religion, *England* at that time ſtood; and how divided, namely, into Papiſts, Proteſtants, and Puritans; Papiſts are

well knowne. *The Proteſtant party* (ſaith he) *conſiſts of the King, the Court Lords, and Gentlemen, with all that are raiſed by favour to any honour: Beſides almoſt all the Prelates, and both the Univerſities.*

What the Proteſtants are, he farther declares. *viz.*

They hate Puritans more then they hate Papiſts; That they eaſily combine with Papiſts to extirpate Puritans; and are not ſo farre engaged to the Reformed Religion, but that they can reduce themſelves againe to the old practiſe of their fore-fathers; That they are very opinionative in excluding the Popes Supremacy.

He ſpeaks then concerning the Puritans, and ſaies: *That they conſiſt of ſome Biſhops, of almoſt all the Gentry and Communalty; and therefore are far the moſt potent party.*

And further declares what they are. *viz. They are ſuch as received the Diſcipline of the French, and Netherlanders, and hold not the Engliſh Reformation to be ſo perfect as that which* CALVIN *inſtituted at* Geneva; *That they hate Papiſts far more then they hate Proteſtants, &c.*

Thus farre of this ſtrangers obſervation, concerning *England.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The condition of the Scottiſh State and Clergy, when the new Booke of Lyturgy was ſent unto them; how it was received; with ſome effects which followed. The Kings Proclamation ſent by the Earle of TRAQUARE; *againſt which the Lords make a Proteſtation.*

IN this condition ſtood the Kingdome of *England*, about the yeare 1636. when the firſt coale was blowne, which kindled ſince into ſo great a combuſtion, as to deface, and almoſt ruine three flouriſhing Kingdomes. Neither was this coale blowne by the grieved party of *England*, the Communalty, and thoſe religious men that prayed for Reformation, but by the other ſide, who had oppreſſed them. No commotion at all was raiſed from the oppreſſed party, though it conſiſted of the body of the Nation, and therefore ſtrong enough to have vindicated themſelves, would they have riſen in illegall tumults.

The Land was yet quiet, and that ſtorme which the people had feared before the death of the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, was not in ſo long a time fallen upon *England*, although the cauſes in Government which made them feare it, had continued at the height ever ſince. They onely wiſhed for a Parliament, but durſt not hope it, unleſſe ſome ſtrange accident, not yet diſcovered by them, might neceſſitate ſuch a cure. The Commons therefore

quietly indured their yoke; the Court freely injoyed its greatneſſe and ſplendour; and the then Clergy, without controll, their dignity: Untill too great a care of ſecuring and increaſing that dignity, made them endeavour thoſe courſes, which proved the ruine of it; for from the Clergy this fire began, though the State was not innocent. The tyranny of Civill Government moved the ſame pace that the ambition of Prelacy did: And the Kings Councell had gone ſo farre, as they could not be content, that the people were patient, unleſſe they could take away all poſſibility for the future, of the peoples redreſſe.

But the name of Religion was uſed at the beginning of the buſineſſe, and a conformity in Church-Worſhip betweene the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, pretended to be introduced: But the meanes proved unhappy, and were defective both in policy and juſtice, as will anon more particularly appeare.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was a maine Agent in this fatall worke; a man vigilant enough; of an active, or rather of a reſtleſſe minde; more ambitious to undertake, then politick to carry on; of a diſpoſition too fierce and cruell for his Coat; which notwithſtanding, he was ſo farre from concealing in a ſubtle way, that he increaſed the envy of it by inſolence. He had few vulgar and private vices, as being neither taxed of covetuouſneſſe, intemperance, or incontinence; and in a word, a man not altogether ſo bad, as unfit for the State of *England*.

To bring about the worke in hand; long preparation had been made in *Scotland*, and though that Kingdome was hardly brought to endure the Rule and Pompe of Prelacy; yet now it ſeemed perfectly to be wrought: The Biſhops there, no leſſe then in *England*, had gotten all the Eccleſiaſticall power into their hands, and had as great a ſhare in Civill Government.

Of

Of fourteene Biſhops, which is all the Scottiſh number, eleven were Privy Counſellors; the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrewes*, Primate of *Scotland*, was Lord Chancellor; and the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, a great Favourite of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was in election, and aſſured hope to be Lord High Treaſurer; many of them beſides were gotten into State employment, and gainfull Offices.

To eſtabliſh that Epiſcopall Power, the High Commiſſion Court, like that in *England*, was erected, and a Booke of Canons for that Church, was by the Kings Authority publiſhed and ratified; wherein all Subjects to the Crowne of *Scotland*, are commanded in all Articles, to ſubmit themſelves to the Epiſcopall Cenſure.

The whole ſtructure of Eccleſiaſticall policy, ſo long uſed in *Scotland*, and eſtabliſhed by ſo many Acts of Parliament, was at one blow throwne downe, (as many of their Writers did then complaine) their Conſiſtories, Claſſes, and Presbyteries, were held in the nature of Conventicles; and all deciſion of Eccleſiaſticall controverſies confined only to the Tribunall of a Biſhop. *Althongh* (ſay they) *after that unhappy Synod of* Perth, *which was held in the yeare* 1618. *we never had any Nationall Synod, or Aſſembly; yet there remained a kinde of face or name of Provinciall Synods, Presbyteries, and Seſſions:* (though indeed but vaine names and ſhadowes) but after the monſtrous birth of thoſe Canons, that very ſhadow was quite loſt.

Olim vera fides libertatis obit,
Nunc & ficta perit.

Yet for all this, the power of Prelacy was not ſo firmly rooted in *Scotland* as in *England*, nor ſo well fortified by the affections of one Kingdome as of the other. Beſides, the Reformation of *England* had never abrogated, nor ſcarſe ſhaken the Prelaticall Dignity in any Parliament.

But in *Scotland* it was once quite ruined, and by degrees built up againe, not without many difficulties, not without great reluctancy of the Peeres, Gentry, and moſt of the Miniſters; not without extraordinary interpoſition of Regall Authority, and great art uſed by two Kings in managing the buſineſſe, and raiſing it to that height, in which then it ſtood; as you may reade at large in ſome late Writers of that Kingdome.

Neither were the Peeres and Gentry of that Kingdome ſo impatient of this new yoake; onely out of zeale to preſervation of Religion in purity, (though that, no doubt, were their greateſt reaſon; that Church having been ever much addicted to the Reformation of *Geneva*: And thoſe other Churches, as it appeared by their great unwillingneſſe to receive thoſe few Ceremonies of the Engliſh Church, at their Synod of *Perth*,) but as loath alſo to ſuffer any diminution of their Temporall Liberties, which could not be avoided in admittance of Epiſcopall Juriſdiction, and was manifeſted in that Kingdome, by divers examples of rigorous proceedings, which ſome Biſhops uſed againſt Gentlemen of quality, by way of Fines and Impriſonments, and the like; which particulars are too large to be here inſerted in this Narration.

In the yeare 1637. a Booke of Lyturgy was compoſed, and ſent out of *England*, (which they complained of, becauſe it was not before allowed by their Church in a Nationall Synod, as was fit for a buſineſſe of ſo great import) with an expreſſe command from the King, that they ſhould reverently receive it, and publikely reade it in their Churches, beginning on Eaſter day, and ſo forward; againſt which time the Privy Councell of *Scotland* had commanded that every Pariſh ſhould buy two at the leaſt of them.

That Service-Booke was the ſame with the Common-

Common-Prayer Booke of *England*, excepting ſome few alterations, of which ſome (as they obſerved) were alterations for the better, but others for the worſe.

For the better, they eſteemed, that ſo many Chapters of the *Apocrypha* were not appointed to be read, as in the Engliſh Prayer Booke; and where the Engliſh retained the old vulgar Latine Tranſlation, eſpecially in the Pſalmes, that Booke followed the laſt Tranſlation, commonly called that of King JAMES.

Thoſe alterations for the worſe were divers, obſerved by the Scots, eſpecially in the Lords Supper, of which ſome were theſe: The expreſſe command for ſituation of the Altar (ſo called) to the Eaſterne Wall; together with many poſtures of the Miniſter, whileſt he officiated, expreſſed in their exceptions; but eſpecially this, that in the conſecrating prayer, thoſe words, which in the Engliſh Common-Prayer Booke, are directly againſt Tranſubſtantiation, were quite left out in that Booke, and inſtead of them, ſuch other words, as in plaine ſenſe agreed with the Roman Maſſe Booke.

As for example: *Heare us, O moſt mercifull Father, and of thy Omnipotent goodneſſe grant, ſo to bleſſe and ſanctifie by thy Word and Spirit, theſe creatures of bread and wine, that they may be to us the body and blood of thy beloved Sonne.*

Many other alterations the Scots have obſerved and expreſſed in their writings, and in one word affirmed, that whereſoever that Booke varies from the Engliſh Lyturgy, it approaches directly to the Roman Miſſall; and offered to prove, that all the materiall parts of the Maſſe Booke are ſeminally there.

It was thought by many, that if the Booke, without any alteration at all, had been ſent into *Scotland*, though the Scots perhaps would not have received

received it, they would not have taken it in ſo evill part: And it might have been conſtrued onely as a brotherly invitation to the ſame ſervice which *England* uſed. But what the reaſons were of thoſe alterations, I finde no where expreſſed, but onely where the King in his Declaration concerning that buſineſſe, is pleaſed to ſay thus:

WE ſuppoſing that they might have taken ſome offence, if we ſhould have tendred them the Engliſh Service-Booke totidem verbis; *and that ſome factious ſpirits would have endeavoured to have miſconſtrued it, as a badge of dependance of that Church upon this of* England, *which we had put upon them to the prejudice of their Lawes and Liberties; We held it fitter that a new Booke ſhould be compoſed by their owne Biſhops, in ſubſtance not differing from this of* England, *that ſo the Roman Party might not upbraid us with any weighty or materiall differences in our Lyturgyes; and yet in ſome few inſenſible alterations, differing from it, that it might truly and juſtly be reputed a Booke of that Churches owne compoſing, and eſtabliſhed by Our Royall Authority, as King of* SCOTLAND.

Theſe were the Kings expreſſions, which, as it ſeemed, were not ſatisfactory to the Scots in that point.

For they were (as is before ſpecified) not well affected to their owne Biſhops, whoſe power and juriſdiction over them, was rather enforced then conſented to. Neither did they ſuppoſe that a conformity in Church-Worſhip, had it been ſuch as their conſciences could well have imbraced, had beene any badge of their dependancy upon *England*, as being a people not conquered, but united in an equall freedome under the ſame King.

Beſides, they could not reliſh it well, that the Arch-

Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and other Engliſh Biſhops, who in many points of Ceremony and Worſhip, which they accounted things tolerable, did make as neere approaches to the Church of *Rome*, as poſſibly they could; for no other reaſon (as they profeſſe in their writings) then that they laboured to bring union into the Chriſtian Church, if it were poſſible; ſhould now invite the Church of *Scotland* (whom they accounted more puritanicall then themſelves) to union, by a quite contrary way; as in ſtead of framing their Service neerer to the Scottiſh profeſſion and Diſcipline, to urge them to a Lyturgy more popiſh then their owne: So that it ſeemed, for unity they were content to meet *Rome*, rather then *Scotland*.

To returne to the Narration; The Service-Booke, according to the Kings command, was offered to the Church of *Scotland*, and the Councell there, and publiſhed by Proclamation; a day for the reading of it in all Churches appointed, which was the Eaſter day following. 1637.

But then upon ſome conſiderations, and further triall of mens minds (as the King declares) the firſt reading of it was put off untill the 23. of *July* next enſuing, to the end that the Lords of the Seſſion (their Seſſion being the ſame with the Terme in *England*) and others, who had any Law buſineſſe, might ſee the ſucceſſe of it before the riſing of the Seſſion, which alwaies endeth upon the firſt of *Auguſt*; and that ſo upon their returne into their ſeverall Countries, they might report the receiving of this Booke at *Edenburgh*; it being ordered, That on that Sunday the Booke ſhould be read only in the Church of *Edenburgh*, and ſome other neere adjacent; and warning was printed, and publiſhed in thoſe ſeverall Pulpits the Sunday before, that it was to be read.

On the 23. day of *July*, being Sunday, the Booke

was read in Saint *Gyles* Church, commonly called, the great Church at *Edenburgh*, where were preſent many of the Privy Councell, both Archbiſhops, and divers other Biſhops, the Lords of the Seſſion, the Magiſtrates of *Edenburgh*, and a great auditory of all ſorts.

But the people, eſpecially the meaneſt vulgar, (for they firſt appeared againſt it) and ſome women expreſſed ſo great a deteſtation of the Booke, not onely in words and outcries, but actions; that the City Magiſtrates were troubled much to get the Service performed; and the Biſhop who read it, comming out of the Church, had probably beene ſlaine by the multitude, if he had not been reſcued by a Nobleman.

Betweene the two Sermons the Councell and Magiſtrates met about preventing future tumults; but though the Booke were read more quietly in the afternoone, yet the tumult was farre greater after evening Prayer, from the people who had ſtayed in the ſtreets; and the Biſhop, in the Earle of ROXBOROUGH his Coach, hardly eſcaped from being ſtoned to death.

The greateſt men and Magiſtrates of *Edenburgh*, to excuſe themſelves to the King (ſome of them alſo writing to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) layed all the fault upon the Rabble; for as yet none of quality had appeared, inſomuch as that the Privy Councell and Magiſtrates of *Edenburgh*, the next morning held ſome conſultation about finding out, and puniſhing the ringleaders of that uproare.

But not long after, upon the appearing of ſome others of higher ranke, and Petitions from divers Miniſters, That the reading of that Booke might be a while teſpited, till his Majeſty might be further petitioned and informed; the Councell yeelded ſo far, as that it ſhould not be urged by the Biſhops, till his Majeſties pleaſure were further knowne.

Upon

Upon which, many Gentlemen and Miniſters, who had reſorted to *Edenburgh* with Petitions not long before, returned in part ſatisfied to their owne habitations; and at many places met together, with faſtings, and Prayer, That God would be pleaſed to direct the Kings heart in that way which they conceived moſt conducible to the happineſſe of the Church and State of *Scotland*.

Upon the 18. of *October* following, harveſt being now ended, a great conflux of all ſorts was at *Edenburgh*, to heare what the King was pleaſed to determine of the buſineſſe; where they finde an Edict againſt them, That upon paine of being guilty of Rebellion, all ſhould within few houres warning, depart the City; and becauſe the Citizens of *Edenburgh* had twice tumultuouſly oppoſed the Prayer Booke, and aſſaulted the Biſhop of *Edenburgh*; as a puniſhment to that City, the Terme was to be removed to the Burgh of *Linlithgow*; and the next Terme, after the ordinary vacants, to be held at the Burgh of *Dendie*, there to remaine during his Majeſties pleaſure.

The Petitioners (as they were then called) were much moved at this Edict; and on the 19. of that *October*, preſented to the Privy Councell a great complaint againſt the Biſhops, whom they conceived the Authors of all this buſineſſe, and deſired juſtice againſt them, as well for other crimes, as for introducing contrary to Law, that ſuperſtitious and idolatrous Book.

To this complaint a great number of all ranks ſubſcribed, and profeſſed to the Councell, that they could not depart out of *Edinburgh* till ſome way were found out to ſettle the preſent grievances.

Whileſt they ſtayed there, their number daily increaſed, from all the remoteſt Provinces, that the Councell were enforced to give way, that till the Kings pleaſure were yet further knowne, they

might chuſe ſome out of their number of all ranks, to repreſent the reſt, and follow the cauſe in the name of all the reſt: Upon which they choſe foure of the higher Nobility, foure of the lower ranke of Nobility, as repreſenters of Provinces; as many Burgeſſes of Townes; and foure Paſtors, as repreſenters of the Claſſes; having ſetled this, the reſt quietly departed to their owne homes.

The King hearing of theſe things, ſent a command to the Councell of *Edenburgh*, not to take upon themſelves any more the deciſion of this controverſie, which he reſerved in his owne power: And Proclamation was made in *December*, 1637. concerning the Kings intentions, that they were not to infringe the Lawes or Liberties of the Kingdome.

When therefore the Commiſſioners petitioned the Councell to give way to them, to bring their Actions againſt the Biſhops, the Councell anſwered, That the King had commanded them to receive no more Petitions, againſt either the Biſhops, or Booke of Service.

Whereupon the Commiſſioners diſcontented, prepare a Proteſtation againſt the Kings Councell, declaring, That what mitchiefe ſoever might afterwards enſue, was to be all imputed to the Kings Councell, for denying Juſtice.

The Councell fearing what effects might follow, deſired the Biſhops to abſent themſelves, and gave leave to the Commiſſioners to appeare before them; where the Lord of *Lowden*, in name of all the reſt, made an Oration, in which charging the Biſhops with other crimes, beſides theſe ſtirres; he deſired them to be altogether removed from the Councell Table, till they had anſwered and cleered themſelves. To the like purpoſe ſpake one of the Miniſters.

The Councell ſeemed ſorry, that it lay not in their power (ſince the Kings Command was peremptory) to

to give ſatisfaction to their deſires; but intreated their patience for ſo ſmall a time, as till they might againe receive notice of his Majeſties pleaſure.

The King further certified by them, ſent for the Earle of TRAQUARE into *England*, who was ſoone diſpatched againe into *Scotland*; and in *February*, 1638. cauſed the Kings Mandate in *Sterlin* (where the Councell then ſate) to be publiſhed.

The Proclamation declared that the Biſhops were wrongfully accuſed, as Authors of ſending the Prayer Booke; That his Majeſty himſelfe was Author of it, and all was done by his Command; That he condemned all tumultuous proceedings of his Subjects to exhibite Petitions or complaints againſt the innocent Biſhops, and booke of Lyturgy, and all ſubſcriptions to that purpoſe hitherto, as conſpiring againſt the publike peace; pronouncing pardon to thoſe which repented, and the puniſhment of high Treaſon to ſuch as perſiſted; promiſing to heare the juſt complaints of his Subjects, ſo they offended not in matter or forme.

After the Proclamation was made at *Sterlin*, the Earle of HUME, Lord LINDSEY, and others, in name of all the Petitioners, made a Proteſtation againſt it; which Proteſtation was afterward repeated at *Lithgow*, and laſt at *Edenburgh*.

The effect of that Proteſtation was (for we cannot here inſert it at large) That the Service Booke was full of Superſtition and Idolatry, and ought not to be obtruded upon them, without conſent of a Nationall Synod, which in ſuch caſes ſhould judge; That it was unjuſt to deny them liberty to accuſe the Biſhops, being guilty of high crimes, of which till they were cleered, they did reject the Biſhops as Judges or Governours of them. They proteſted alſo againſt the High Commiſſion Court, and juſtified their owne meetings, and ſuperſcriptions to Petitions, as being to defend the glory of God, the

Kings Honour, and Liberties of the Realme. This Proteſtation was read in the Market place at *Sterlin*, and the Copy hung up in publike.

CHAP. IV.

The Scots enter into a Covenant. The Marqueſſe HAMILTON *is ſent thither from the King. A Nationall Synod is granted to them, but diſſolved within few daies by the Marqueſſe, as Commiſſioner from the King. The King declares againſt the Covenanters, and raiſes an Army to ſubdue them.*

FRom *Sterlin* the Commiſſioners reſorted to *Edenburgh*, whither many from all parts met to conſult of the preſent buſineſſe; and concluded there to renew ſolemnly among them that Covenant, which was commonly called, The leſſer confeſſion of the Church of *Scotland*, or, The confeſſion of the Kings family; which was made and ſealed under King JAMES his hand, in the yeare 1580. afterwards confirmed by all the Eſtates of the Kingdome, and Decree of the Nationall Synod, 1581. Which Confeſſion was againe ſubſcribed by all ſorts of perſons in *Scotland*, 1590. by authority of Councell and Nationall Synod; and a Covenant added to it, for defence of true Religion, and the Kings Majeſty; which Covenant the aforeſaid Lords, Citizens, and Paſtours, in the yeare 1638. did renew, and tooke another according to the preſent occaſion.

The Covenant it ſelfe (expreſſed at large in the Records of that Kingdome) conſiſted of three principall parts: The firſt was a re-taking word for word, of

of that old Covenant, 1580. confirmed by Royall Authority, and two Nationall Synods, for defence of the purity of Religion, and the Kings Perſon and Rights, againſt the Church of *Rome*. The ſecond part contained an enumeration of all the Acts of Parliament made in *Scotland*, in defence of the reformed Religion, both in Doctrine and Diſcipline againſt Popery.

The third was an application of that old Covenant to the preſent ſtate of things, where, as in that all Popery, ſo in this all innovations in thoſe Bookes of Lyturgy unlawfully obtruded upon them are abjured; and a preſervation of the Kings Perſon and Authority; as likewiſe a mutuall defence of each other in this Covenant are ſworne unto.

Againſt this Covenant the King, much diſpleaſed, made theſe foure principall objections: Firſt, By what authority they entred into this Covenant? or preſumed to exact any Oath from their fellow Subjects? Secondly, if they had power to command the new taking of this Oath, yet what power had they to interpret it to their preſent occaſion? it being a received Maxime, That no leſſe authority can interpret a Law, then that which made it, or the Judges appointed by that Authority, to give ſentence upon it. Thirdly, What power they had to adde any thing to it, and interpoſe a new Covenant of mutuall aſſiſtance to each other, againſt any other power that ſhould oppoſe them, none excepted. And fourthly, That all Leagues of Subjects among themſelves, without the privity and approbation of the King, are declared to be ſeditious by two Parliaments in *Scotland*, one of the tenth Parliament of JAMES the ſixth, Act the twelfth; and the other the fifteenth Act of the ninth Parliament of Queene MARY.

What anſwer the Covenanters made to theſe objections, and what arguments the King uſed to enforce the contrary, are largely expreſſed in many writings; being

being ſuch indeed, as not onely then, but ſince, in the ſad calamities of *England*, have been diſcourſed of in whole volumes; containing all that can be ſaid concerning the true Rights and Priviledges of Princes and People.

The Covenant notwithſtanding was generally ſubſcribed by all there preſent at *Edenburgh*, in *February*, 1638. and Copies of it ſent abroad to thoſe who were abſent, and ſo faſt ſubſcribed by them alſo, that before the end of *Aprill*, he was ſcarce accounted one of the Reformed Religion, that had not ſubſcribed to this Covenant. And the Church and State were divided into two names, of Covenanters, and Non-Covenanters; the Non-Covenanters conſiſting firſt of Papiſts, whoſe number was thought ſmall in *Scotland*, ſcarce exceeding ſix hundred: Secondly, ſome Stateſmen in Office and favour at that time: Thirdly, ſome, who though they were of the Reformed Religion, were greatly affected to the Ceremonies of *England*, and Booke of Common-Prayer.

Many Biſhops at that time came from thence to the Court of *England*, and three Lords of the Councell of *Scotland*, whom the King had ſent for, to adviſe about the affaires of that Kingdome, where, after many debates what courſe to take, whether of reducing the Covenanters by Armes, or uſing more gentle meanes: The King at laſt ſent the Marqueſſe HAMILTON, together with thoſe three Lords, into *Scotland*.

The Marqueſſe arrived at *Dulketh*, and within few daies entred *Edenburgh*, in *June*, being met and conducted into the City by a great multitude of all ranks, in which number were ſeven hundred Paſtors of Churches.

The Marqueſſe, by the Kings Command, dealt with the Covenanters, to renounce their Covenant, or elſe told them, there was no hope to obtaine a Nationall Synod, which they ſo much deſired, for ſetling

of

of the Church, which they affirmed could not be done, without manifeſt perjury and profanation of Gods Name.

But when nothing was agreed upon, they beſought the Marqueſſe at his returne into *England*, to preſent their humble deſire to the King: But before his departure, in *July* he publiſhed the Kings Proclamation, wherein his Majeſty proteſts to defend the Proteſtant Religion; and that he would no more preſſe upon them the Booke of Canons, or Service Booke, but by lawfull Mediums; That he would rectifie the High Commiſſion, and was reſolved to take a ſpeedy opportunity of calling both a Parliament and Synod.

When the Proclamation was ended, the Covenanters read their Proteſtation; of which the heads were: That they never queſtioned his Majeſties ſincerity in the Proteſtant Religion; That theſe grants of his were not large enough to cure the preſent diſtempers; for he doth not utterly aboliſh that Service-Booke, nor the High Commiſſion, being both obtruded againſt all Law upon them; That their meetings are not to be condemned in opprobrious words, being lawfull, and ſuch as they would not forſake, untill the purity of Religion, and peace, might be fully ſetled by a free and Nationall Synod.

The Marqueſſe went into *England*, to returne at a prefixed day, the twelfth of *Auguſt*; In the meane time the Scots keepe a ſolemne Faſt; and the Covenanters, not hoping from the King ſo quick a call of a Nationall Synod, as the preſent malady required, publiſhed a writing, wherein they endeavour to prove, That the Church in ſuch a condition may provide for it ſelfe; *That the power of calling a Synod, in caſe the Prince be an enemy to the truth, or negligent in promoting the Churches good, is in the Church it ſelfe.* And that the State of the Church of *Scotland* at that time was neceſſitated to ſuch a courſe; which they

endeavour to prove by reciting all their particular grievances, and by anſwering all arguments of the contrary ſide, for the Right of Princes, howſoever affected to Religion; as appeares at large in their Tractate concerning the neceſſity of Synods.

The Marqueſſe returned into *Scotland* before the appointed day, and brought Articles from the King, to which the Covenanters, if they would have either Parliament or Synod, were required to conſent.

But they utterly rejected thoſe Articles, as too invalid for their purpoſe of ſetling things; ſo that the Marqueſſe fearing leaſt the Covenanters, weary of delayes, would call a Synod without ſtaying the Kings conſent, earneſtly perſwaded them to forbeare it onely till his next returne from Court, whither he would preſently go to perſwade the King. Which requeſt of his, with much a do was granted by them, and the day for his returne appointed the 22 of *September*; by which time, unleſſe the Marqueſſe returned, it was free for the Covenanters to provide for their owne affaires.

But the Marqueſſe with ſingular diligence prevented his day, and publiſhed the Kings Proclamation, of which the chiefe heads were: Firſt, The King did abrogate all Decrees of Councell for the Booke of Canons and Common-Prayer, and abrogate the High Commiſſion. Secondly, That none ſhould be preſſed to the five Articles of *Perth*. Thirdly, That Biſhops ſhould be ſubject to the cenſure of a Synod. Fourthly, That no Oath ſhould be given at Ordination of Paſtors, but by Law of Parliament. Fifthly, that the leſſer Confeſſion of 1580. ſhould be ſubſcribed to by all the Kingdome. Sixtly, That the King called a Nationall Synod to begin at *Glaſco* the 21 of *November*, 1638. and a Parliament at *Edenburgh* the 15. of *May*, 1639. Laſtly, for peace ſake he would forget all their offences paſt.

The

The Covenanters at the firſt hearing of this peacefull Meſſage, were much joyed; but looking neerely into the words, they found (as they affirme) *That their precedent actions were tacitly condemned, and the juſt freedome of a Nationall Synod taken away.*

Therefore loath to be deceived, they frame a Proteſtation, not (as they alledged) miſ-doubting the candor of the King, but not truſting thoſe in favour with him; by whoſe deſtructive Councell they ſuppoſed it was, that the King had not ſhewed this clemency at firſt.

The chiefe heads of their Proteſtation were theſe: Firſt, after humble thanks to God and the King, they conceived this grant no ſufficient remedy for their ſores.

For His Majeſty calls that a panick feare in them, which was upon no imaginary, but juſt grounds, as a reall mutation both of Religion and Lawes, by obtruſion of thoſe Bookes directly popiſh.

Secondly, whereas the King in his former Mandates ſo highly extolled thoſe Bookes, as moſt religious, and fit for the Church; they could not be ſatisfied with a bare remiſſion of the exerciſe of them, unleſſe he would utterly abrogate and condemne them; or elſe itching Innovators would not be wanting hereafter to raiſe new troubles to the Church about them.

Thirdly, the juſt liberty of Nationall Synods is diminiſhed, and Epiſcopacy ſet up, they being allowed as Biſhops, though not deputed by the Churches, to give their voices in a Synod.

Fourthly, the ſubſcribing againe of that old Covenant, could not be admitted for many reaſons there at large expreſſed; of which ſome are, That it would fruſtrate their late Covenant, and make it narrower then before, and not able to ſuit to the redreſſe of preſent grievances, and be a needleſſe

multiplying of Oathes, and taking the Name of God in vaine; with many other objections, which cannot be fully here inſerted.

That Covenant notwithſtanding was ſolemnly taken at *Edenburgh* by the Marqueſſe of HAMILTON, the Kings Commiſſioner, and all the Privy Councell.

The Marqueſſe then gave Order for the Synod, fearing leaſt the Covenanters, if he delayed to call it, would do it themſelves, and on the 16. of *November* came to *Glaſco* in great ſtate.

Where after many meetings for preparation to the buſineſſe, on the 21 of the ſame Moneth, according to the Kings Edict, the Nationall Synod began: But within ſeven daies that Synod was diſſolved by the Marqueſſe HAMILTON, in the Kings Name, and they commanded to ſit no more.

The Marqueſſe alleadging for reaſon of it, that they had broken the Lawes of a free Synod in many proceedings, not onely in thoſe few daies of their ſitting, but before it began in their manner of Elections, with other ſuch like matters.

But they proteſted againſt that diſſolution, and continued the Synod when the Marqueſſe was gone. What were the Acts of that Synod, what proceedings it had, and what impediments it met withall, you may reade in two large deſcriptions, the one publiſhed by the King, the other by the Synod; how the Biſhops proteſted againſt the Synod; how the Synod anſwered their Proteſtation; how the Synod wrote to the King; how they proceeded againſt the Biſhops, depoſing them all from their Dignities; how of all fourteene Biſhops, eight were excommunicated, foure excluded from all Miniſteriall Function, and two onely allowed to officiate as Paſtours; how the five Articles of *Perth*, the Booke of Lyturgy, the Booke of Canons and Ordination,

were

were all condemned, the High Commiſſion taken away, and whatſoever elſe had crept into the Church ſince the yeare 1580. when that Nationall Covenant was firſt eſtabliſhed.

The Scots Covenanters, when themſelves broke up the Synod, wrote a Letter of thanks to the King, and immediately after publiſhed a Declaration, dated the fourth of *February*, 1638. from *Edenburgh*, and directed *To all the ſincere and good Chriſtians in* England, *to vindicate their actions and intentions, from thoſe aſperſions which enemies might throw upon them.*

That Declaration was welcome to the people of *England* in generall, and eſpecially to thoſe who ſtood beſt affected to Religion, and the Lawes and Liberties of their Country: But by the Kings Authority it was ſuppreſſed, as all other papers that might be ſent from the Scots; and a Proclamation ſoone after, bearing date the 27. of *February*, 1638. was publiſhed by the King, and commanded to be read in all Churches of *England*; the Title of it was, *A Proclamation and Declaration to informe our loving Subjects of* England, *concerning the ſeditious Actions of ſome in* Scotland, *who under falſe pretence of Religion, endeavour the utter ſubverſion of our Royall Authority.*

The Declaration was filled with ſharpe invectives and execrations againſt the Scottiſh Covenanters; but the truth is, it wrought little upon the hearts of the Engliſh People; who conceived a good opinion of the Scots; and were more confirmed in it, becauſe the King had carried the whole buſineſſe ſo cloſely from the Engliſh Nation, as not onely not to declare unto them in a Parliament, (which former Princes uſed to call upon leſſe occaſions) but not revealing the proceedings of it to the Body of his Privy Councell, acquainting onely ſome of them whom he thought fitteſt for

his purpoſe, as the King himſelfe expreſſeth in two places of his owne Booke, intituled, *A large Declaration concerning the late tumults in* Scotland, pag. 76. and page 126. in fine, the Scots are declared Rebels; and the King in Perſon with an Engliſh Army richly furniſhed, is going to chaſtiſe them.

CHAP. V.

The averſeneſſe of the Engliſh people from this Warre with Scotland. *The King advanceth to* Yorke *with his Army. The preparation of the Scottiſh Covenanters. A pacification is made, and both Armies disbanded. Another preparation for Warre with* Scotland. *A Parliament called to begin in* England *on the* 13. *of April. The Parliament of* Scotland *is broken off by command of the King to the Earle of* Traquare.

NEver were the people of *England* ſo averſe from any Warre, as neither hating the Enemy againſt whom, nor approving the cauſe for which they were engaged.

Their owne great ſufferings made them eaſily believe that the Scots were innocent, and wronged by the ſame hand, by which themſelves had beene oppreſſed; and for the cauſe, it was ſuch, wherein they could not deſire a Victory; ſuppoſing that the ſame Sword which ſubdued the Scots, muſt deſtroy their owne Liberties; and that the contrivers of this

this Warre, were equall Enemies to both Nations.

Nor was this onely the thought of wiſeſt Gentlemen, but the common people in generall were ſenſible of the mutuall intereſt of both Kingdomes.

Thoſe Courtiers who were in all things wholly complyant to the Kings will, did alſo diſlike this Warre with *Scotland*, though not for the ſame reaſon which the forenamed did, as not conſidering the cauſe or quarell, but the diſadvantage of the Warre it ſelfe.

Thoſe diſadvantages they uſed to vent in contemptuous expreſſions of the poverty of *Scotland*; That nothing could be gotten from ſuch wretched Enemies; That the King were happy (if with his Honour he might ſuffer it) to be rid of that Kingdome, and would be a great gainer by the loſſe of it: The younger Courtiers were uſually heard to wiſh *Scotland* under water, or that the old Wall of SEVERUS the Emperour were now re-edified.

Thoſe Courtiers that were of a graver diſcourſe, did likewiſe ſeeme to feare the conſequence of this buſineſſe, and I remember, would daily mention the Story of CHARLES Duke of *Burgundy*, his preſſing of a Warre upon the *Swiſſers*; and what PHILIP DE COMMINES relates about the Battell of *Granſon*, that the Duke loſt to the value of three millions of Crownes; all which he fondly ventured againſt ſo wretched a people, that it is there expreſſed, if all the *Swiſſers* had been taken Priſoners, they would not be able to pay a Ranſom to the value of the Spurres and Bridle-bits in his Campe: And very frequent in their mouthes was that Verſe:

Curandum in primis ne magna injuria fiat
Fortibus & miſeris. Juvenal.
Take heed of offering too great injuries
To people ſtout and poore.

But the people of *England*, though they abhorred the

the very thought of that unnaturall Warre; yet glad they ſeemed to be, that ſuch an occaſion happened, which might in reaſon neceſſitate the King to call an Engliſh Parliament, and ſo by accident redreſſe the many grievances of *England*: Which might alſo prevent the feare of ſuch Warres for the future, and bring a juſt puniſhment upon thoſe who were found to be the Authors or aſſiſtors of this preſent diſturbance.

But the King, though reſolved to purſue his deſigne of Warre, rather then take the advice of a Parliament, was content to want the aid of it; and to ſeeke ſupplies of a lower condition. Great ſums of money he borrowed from the chiefe Nobility; and required proportionable Loanes from all the Judges and Officers; but ſpecially the Clergy, of all ranks, were liberall in contribution to this War; which was then called by many men, *Bellum Epiſcopale*.

All Courtiers, as well extraordinary as ordinary, were ſummoned to attend the King in Perſon with Horſe and Armes in a proportion ſuitable to their rankes.

By whom, and ſuch voluntiers of the Gentry, as came in to gaine His Majeſties favour, with old Souldiers that imbraced it as their profeſſion, a gallant Army was made up, *Yorke* was appointed for the Rendezvouze, and the Earle of ARUNDELL Commander in chiefe.

The King, as it was well knowne, had beene advertiſed by many, and eſpecially by the proſecuted Biſhops, who were fled out of *Scotland*, that the Scottiſh Covenanters were in no ſort able to reſiſt him; That ſcarce any Engliſh Army at all would be needfull to fight, but onely to appeare, and His Majeſty would finde a party great enough in *Scotland* to do the worke.

And indeed much might have been done in that kinde,

kinde, if the Lords of the Covenant had not uſed a moſt dexterous and timely prevention, which is as neceſſsry in a defenſive, as an offenſive Warre.

For beſides the feared incurſion of the Engliſh upon their Borders, and what invaſion the Deputy of *Ireland*, on the Weſterne Coaſt might make, together with the Earle of ANTRIM, and his Forces from the Hebrides; the Marqueſſe HUNTLEY in the North, and Marqueſſe DUGLAS towards the Southerne parts, with the Earle of HETH, were to be feared, and the Towne of *Aberden* to be ſecured, before it could fortifie to receive the Kings Fleet.

All which with timely care was undertaken, and provided againſt by ſeverall Lords, as ARGILE for the Weſt, MONTROSSE for the North, Colonell MONROE for the South.

The moſt conſiderable Forts in that Kingdome were taken in at the beginning, without any blood or reſiſtance, and furniſhed by them with Ammunition, as *Edenburgh*, and *Dun-Britain*, and the Haven of *Leeth*, to ſecure *Edenburgh*, ſuddenly fortified. All Neuters, or ſuſpected perſons, they diſarmed without tumult; The Caſtle of *Dalketh* they ſcaled and tooke, with all the warlike proviſion which had been brought into it by Marqueſſe HAMILTON the yeare before. In that Caſtle they found the Kings Crowne, Scepter, and Sword, which in great ſtate and ſolemnity were carried from thence by the greateſt Noblemen, and layed up in *Edenburgh* Caſtle.

The Covenanting Lords at the ſame time publiſhed a long Remonſtrance, in anſwer to the Kings Proclamation againſt them, the 27. of *February*, and to ſatisfie the people of *England* concerning their proceedings and intents.

The Marqueſſe HAMILTON arrived at *Forth*

with a Fleet in *May*, and ſent Letters to the Governour of *Edenburgh* to obey the Kings Commands, and eſpecially to publiſh in *Edenburgh* that Proclamation, which had been by the King proclaimed at *Yorke*, upon the 25. of *Aprill*; wherein among other things, the Rents and Debts due to Covenanters from Tenants and others, are forbidden to be paid to them.

The Governour deſired the Marqueſſe to expect an anſwer till the Parliament ſate, which was to begin within few daies, who returned anſwer to the Marqueſſe, That they could not in that obey his Command, for many reaſons, expreſſed at large in their Commentaries.

In the meane time the King commanded the Parliament to diſſolve, which immediately obeyed; And being threatned with Warre on every ſide, elected Sir ALEXANDER LESLEY, an experienced Commander in the German Warres, to be their great Generall; to whom all the greateſt Earles and Lords of the Covenant, ſwore obedience in all warlike Commands; taking an Oath of him for performance of his duty; and immediately betooke themſelves every man to his charge throughout all parts of the Kingdome, according as they were commanded by LESLEY.

Whileſt the Armies on both ſides advanced forward, and no deciſion of this difference ſeemed with reaſon to be hoped for, but ſuch as the ſtroke of Warre muſt allow; The Scottiſh Covenanters did nevertheleſſe continue their firſt courſe of petitioning the King; and by many addreſſes to him, proteſted their loyalty to his Crowne and Perſon; and did not omit by Letters and Meſſages, to ſolicite as Advocates thoſe Engliſh Noblemen, whom they eſteemed beſt and trueſt Patriots, as the Earles of ESSEX, PEMBROOKE, and HOLLAND, as ſuppoſing that this Warre was not approved of by any

that

that were firme to the Cauſe of Religion, and Liberties of both Kingdomes, (for ſo themſelves expreſſe it.)

The Earle of DUMFERLING having free paſſage about that time to the Engliſh Army, aſſured his fellow-Covenanters, that thoſe Noble fore-named Earles, and almoſt all the Engliſh Nobility, were much averſe from this Warre, and favourers of their ſuit to the King.

Which did ſo much encourage the Covenanters to continue their humble Petitions to the King, (and God being pleaſed to give his bleſſing) that after ſome few Meſſages to and fro, the King was pleaſed to give leave, that ſix of them ſhould come and perſonally treat at the Earle of ARUNDELL his Tent, upon the tenth of *June*, with ſome of the Engliſh Nobility; at which Diſcourſes ſome few daies after, the King himſelfe vouchſafed to be preſent: At laſt after many humble expreſſions of the Covenanters, and ſome expoſtulations of the King with them, by the happy mediation of wiſe and noble Councellors, a Pacification was ſolemnly made, upon ſuch Articles as gave full ſatisfaction to all parties, ſave onely that the Scottiſh Covenanters were not pleaſed with ſome expreſſions which the King had uſed in the Preface to the Pacificatory Edict, as calling their late Synod, *Pſeudo Synodus Glaſquenſis*; and aſperſing their proceedings in Armes, with ſuch Epithites, as tumultuous, illegall, and rebellious.

Which notwithſtanding, at the humble ſuit of them, the King was pleaſed to moderate, to expunge ſome of thoſe harſh phraſes; as likewiſe to explaine more cleerely other ambiguous ſentences, to take away all ſuſpitions from peoples hearts; the Copies of which were delivered to divers of the Engliſh Nobility, who had taken faithfull paines in procuring that happy peace; that if any doubts ſhould afterwards happen, their judgements might

be taken concerning the intention of the writing.

The King alſo declared, for ſatisfaction of the Scots, That though his expreſſions at ſome places might ſeeme harſh, yet his meaning to them was never the worſe; That care muſt be taken of his owne reputation in forraigne parts; and that litigation about words was vaine, when the matter was cleere, and their ſuit wholly granted.

The King granted them a free Nationall Synod, to be holden upon the ſixth of *Auguſt* following, and a Parliament to begin upon the 20. day of the ſame Moneth, to confirme and ratifie what the Synod ſhould decree; which the Scots thankfully receive, eſteeming that to be the onely proper and efficatious way to ſettle a firme peace both in Church and State.

They were alſo joyfull, that the King had promiſed to be there himſelfe in perſon; but that hope afterwards failed them, for the King excuſed himſelfe, affirming that urgent and weighty affaires at *London*, as he was certified by Letters from his Queen and Councell, required his preſence there; but that he would ſend a Deputy thither, with full power to make good whatſoever he had promiſed, which was the Earle of TRAQUARE.

This Pacification, to the great joy of good men, was ſolemnly concluded on the 18. of *June*, 1639. and both Armies within eight and forty houres to be disbanded, which was accordingly done, and both the Engliſh and Scots returned home, praiſing God; who without any effuſion of blood had compounded this difference, and prevented a Warre ſo wickedly deſigned.

But that joy laſted not long; for the Earle of TRAQUARE, the Kings Commiſſioner could not agree with the Scottiſh Parliament; the Scots complaining, that nothing was ſeriouſly performed, which the King had promiſed at the Pacification, as ſhall more appeare afterward. But

But however it were, within a little time after that the King had been at *London*, that Paper which the Scots avowed to containe the true Conditions of that Pacification, was by the King disavowed, and commanded by Proclamation to be burned by the hands of the hangman; though the Contents of that Paper were not named at all in the Proclamation, nor the people of *England* acquainted with any of them. Which put the English in great feare that the former Councells of divisions yet prevailed in the Court, especially discerning a shew of preparation for Warre againe.

But leaving the Scots at their Parliament a while. In the meane time the Lord WENTWORTH, Deputy of *Ireland*, arrived in *England*, and was received by the King with great expressions of grace and favour, dignified with a higher Title, and created Earle of *Strafford*.

Great was the expectation of all the English, what might be the effect of his coming over; great was the opinion which men in generall had conceived of his ability and parts; looking at him as the onely hinge, upon which the State was now likely to turne. But very different and various were the conjectures of Gentlemen at that time, in their ordinary discourses, (for I will relate the truth,) what use this great Statesman would make of his ability and favour.

Some (as they wished) did seeme to hope, when they considered his first right Principles, that whatsoever he had acted since his greatnesse, was but to ingratiate himselfe perfectly with the King; that so at last by his wisdome and favour he might happily prevaile, both upon the Kings judgement and affection, and carry him from those evill Councells which he had long beene nurtured in, to such waies as should render him most honourable and happy; That the Earle was so wise as to understand

what moſt became a wiſe man, and would make greatneſſe beloved and permanent.

But others durſt not hope ſo much from him, when they conſidered his Government in *Ireland*, and the ambition of the man: They feared that neither his vertue was great enough to venture his owne fortunes, by oppoſing any evill Councells about the King, nor his favour great enough to prevaile in over-ruling; That he was ſent for onely to compleat that bad worke, which others of leſſe braine then he had begun.

Which he would ſooner venture to do, then to make himſelfe the Author of a new and good one; ſeeing it hath been obſerved, that few Stateſmen have ever oppoſed Princes, but rather ſeconded and aſſiſted them in their bad inclinations.

From whence it comes, that few Stateſmen have converted Princes from ill courſes, but been themſelves perverted from that goodneſſe which ſeemed to be before in them. Hiſtorians therefore neither imputed the goodneſſe of AUGUSTUS to MARCUS AGRIPPA, or STATILIUS TAURUS; nor TIBERIUS faults to SEJANUS. According to that ſentence of MACHIAVELL, *Recta conſilia à quocunque profiſcuntur, à Principis prudentia; non autem Principis prudentia à rectis conſiliis derivatur.*

At that time the King declared to his Councell an intention that he had of calling a Parliament in *England*, to begin in *Aprill* following. The people ſeemed to wonder at ſo great a novelty as the name of a Parliament, but feared ſome further deſigne, becauſe it was ſo long deferred, whileſt in the meane time preparations for a Warre againſt *Scotland*, ſeemed to go forward, and the Deputy of *Ireland* was firſt to go over, and ſummon a Parliament in *Ireland*, which he accordingly did, croſſing the Seas about the end of *December*.

What worke he was to do there, the people knew

knew not, but wiſhed that the Engliſh Parliament might have begun, before the Scottiſh buſineſſe had proceeded too farre, which they ſuppoſed might happily prevent ſo ſad a Warre, and ſave thoſe charges, which would before *Aprill* grow upon ſuch warlike preparations, and require a ſupply from that Parliament; that it were better to prevent ſuch a neceſſity, then purpoſely to ſtay till that neceſſity were made.

On the 18. day of that *December*, the Earle of TRAQUARE, by a Command from the King, under his Privy Seale, broke up the Parliament in *Scotland*, and prorogued it till the ſecond day of *June* in the following yeare.

The Scots complained that it was a new example and breach of their Liberties, not heard of before in twenty ages; That a Parliament fully aſſembled, and compleat in all her Members, whileſt buſineſſe of moment was depending, ſhould be diſſolved without the conſent of the Houſe it ſelfe; That whatſoever Kings in other Kingdomes might do, it concerned not them to enquire, but it was abſolutely againſt their Lawes, according to which, the King had lately promiſed them he would onely proceed.

TRAQUARE, immediately upon the diſſolution of the Scottiſh Parliament, haſtened to the Court of *England* to certifie the King of all proceedings.

And the Parliament Deputies of *Scotland* diſpatched away with ſpeciall inſtructions to the King alſo foure Commiſſioners, the Earles of DUMFERLING and LOWDEN, DUGLASSE, and BARCLAY.

Their inſtructions were, That before the King himſelfe, not the Councell of *England* (becauſe of the independency of that Kingdome) they ſhould complaine of thoſe injuries, and intreat redreſſe, which had been offered to them ſince the Pacification; The diſſolving of their Parliament; The Garriſoning

riſonning of *Edenburgh* Caſtle with three times as many as would ſerve for defence; The garriſoning of *Dun-Britain* Caſtle with Engliſh Souldiers; That the Scots trading in *England*, but more eſpecially in *Ireland*, were enforced to new Oathes, damning their late Covenant, and contrary to the Articles of Pacification.

They ſent withall an information to the Engliſh Nation in generall, touching all their proceedings and intentions, and expreſſing at large (as may be there read) what particular injuries they had received ſince the Pacification, and how much contrary to that Agreement.

The foure Scottiſh forenamed Commiſſioners, after ſome audiences before the King, and divers of his Engliſh Councell, were in *March* committed to Priſon, the King intending ſhortly to charge them, the Parliament being neere, LOWDEN to the Tower, and the other three to other cuſtody.

About this time the Earle of STRAFFORD returning out of *Ireland*, where he had held a ſhort Parliament, and gotten foure Subſidies from them, came to the King againe; and the Engliſh Parliament being preſently to begin, an accuſation was drawne againſt LOWDEN, then Priſoner in the Tower, concerning a Letter written from the Scottiſh Covenanters to the French King; to which Epiſtle the ſaid Earle had ſet his hand.

The matter of accuſation was, That the Scots, weary of obedience to their owne King, had recourſe to a forraigne Prince for aſſiſtance, and by that meanes might draw the Armies of *France* into this Iſland.

His anſwer was, The Letter was written in *May*, 1639. when *Scotland* was threatned with a grievous invaſion, and they had notice, that by Ambaſſadors and Agents their Cauſe was repreſented odious to all forraigne Princes and States; That their intention

was

was to cleare themſelves from thoſe aſperſions abroad, and eſpecially to the King of *France*, whoſe Anceſtors had been ancient friends to the Kingdome of *Scotland*; and for feare leaſt that King might poſſibly be wrought upon to be their Enemy otherwiſe.

That it was not to draw Warlike aſſiſtance from the King of *France* (which nevertheleſſe they thought lawfull in an extreame neceſſity and perſecution) but only his mediation in their behalfe to their owne King; and that the Letter well examined would beare no other ſence; Though there were mention of aid, yet their ſecret inſtructions to their Meſſenger had ſpecified what kinde of aid it was which they deſired; But howſoever, they alledged that the draught of that Letter did not then pleaſe them, nor was it at all conſented to, nor intended to be ſent; beſides that, the Superſcription *To the King*, at which ſo great exception was taken, as if they acknowledged the French King for their Soveraigne, was not written at all by them, but added by ſome Enemy, after that it was gotten out of their hand. Beſides all this, the thing was done afore the Pacification, and Act of Oblivion, and ought not now to be remembred againſt them. Whether their anſwer were ſufficient or not, true it is, that nothing at all was made of that buſineſſe, though the King himſelfe at the beginning of the Engliſh Parliament, mentioned it againſt the Scots, as a proofe of their diſloyalty, and juſtification of thoſe Warlike preparations which he had made againſt them.

The Scots in the meane time had written to the Engliſh Parliament a large Juſtification of all their proceedings, intreating them by the way of Brotherly advice, *To be wary in vindicating their owne Lawes and Liberties, to fruſtrate the deſigne of thoſe evill Counſellors, who had procured this Parliament for no other end, then to arme the King with warlike*

ſupplies againſt his Scottiſh Subjects, and by that Warre to inſlave, if not ruine both the Nations; That after ſo many violations and diſſolutions of Parliaments in England, *this was not called to redreſſe grievances, but to be ſo over-reached (if they were not carefull and couragious) that no poſſibility ſhould be left for the future of redreſſing any; That ſome dangerous practiſe might be well ſuſpected, when at the ſame time a Parliament was denyed to* Scotland, *though promiſed by the word of a King, granted to* England *when not expected; and obtruded upon* Ireland, *when not deſired.*

Many particulars of that nature were expreſſed in the Scottiſh Remonſtrance.

CHAP. VI.

The Parliament beginneth in England, *but is ſoone diſſolved. The Clergy continue their Convocation. The Scots enter into* England. *Some paſſages of the Warre. A Parliament is called to begin on the third of* November. *A Truce betweene the Armies for two Moneths.*

UPon the thirteenth of *Aprill* the Parliament began; when the King produced that forenamed writing of his Scottiſh Subjects to the French King, as an apparent token of their diſloyalty, and a neceſſity in him of chaſtiſing them by Armes; for which he had already made ſo great a preparation, as required a preſent ſupply of money from this Parliament. To the ſame purpoſe that the King had briefly expreſſed himſelf, the

the Lord Keeper FINCH, in a long and eloquent Oration dilated the buſineſſe.

Twelve Subſidies were demanded by the King, in lieu of which, the releaſe of Ship-Money was promiſed; to which demand anſwer was made by divers Members of the Houſe in ſeverall Speeches, That redreſſe of grievances was the chiefe end of aſſembling Parliaments, and ought to precede granting of Subſidies. Which not onely reaſon, but the conſtant practiſe of all ages had confirmed; That there was never more need of redreſſing grievances than at this time; without which the people would repine to part with twelve Subſidies; That the ſum was extraordinary great, eſpecially to be given for releaſing of that which they never conceived the King had any Title to, but had taken by power againſt the Lawes.

The King promiſed that grievances ſhould be afterwards redreſſed, but required the Money firſt, becauſe there was a neceſſity of haſtening the Warre; without which the opportunity of Summer would be loſt. To which it was anſwered by many, That the people had no reaſon to pay for that which was never cauſed nor deſired by them, nor could any way prove to their good, but quite contrary to the danger and detriment of the whole Kingdome; That the ſame people would undoubtedly pay with more willingneſſe ſo many Subſidies to prevent that unhappy Warre, to ſettle the State, and puniſh the principall contrivers or aſſiſtors of that diſturbance.

Among all the Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, who ſpake to that purpoſe, the Lord GEORGE DIGBY, Sonne to the Earle of *Briſtoll* (a young Nobleman of extraordinary abilities) was eminent for a Speech there; wherein complaining that the Houſe was required to give preſent anſwer concerning ſupplies to the King, to ingage himſelf in a Warre, and that a Civill Warre; *For*, ſaid he,

ſo I muſt needs call it, ſeeing we are of the ſame Religion, and under the ſame King. He divided his Complaint into five heads:

1. *We are not permitted to redreſſe grievances at all.*

2. *We are not permitted ſo much as to repreſent to His Majeſty the diſ-affection of his Subjects to this Warre.*

3. *We are not permitted to ſay, That we thinke they are the ſame perſons that are the cauſers of our grievances, and the grievances of* Scotland; *and that the cutting off of thoſe Incendiaries of State, would be a ſafe, eaſie, and honourable cure.*

4. *That Warre will make the breach wider, and the remedy deſperate.*

5. *That the beſt Juſtice is to fill the pits which are made to intrap others, with the bodies of thoſe that digged them,* &c.

Maſter PYM alſo, a grave and religious Gentleman, in a long Speech of almoſt two houres, recited a Catalogue of all the grievances which at that time lay heavy upon the Common-wealth.

Of which many abbreviated Copies, as extracting the heads oncly, were with great greedineſſe taken by Gentlemen and others throughout the Kingdom; for it was not then in faſhion to print Speeches of Parliament,

Divers of the Members beſides (too many to be here named) did fully deſcant upon ſuch particular grievances, as they had informed themſelves of, in their ſeverall Countries and Burroughs.

But it is moſt true, though it have been ſaid, *Quicquid multis peccatur, inultum eſt*, That there was never any Parliament which was more unanimous in apprehenſion of grievances, and yet more moderate in the Language and manner of declaring againſt them. And ſo great ſeemed to be their care of offending in this Parliament, being the firſt that in ſo many yeares had been granted to *England*; that notwithſtanding

withſtanding they perceived the Money they were to give to the King, muſt be imployed againſt their owne intereſt, yet they tooke the Subſidies into conſideration; by which they might perchance gaine the Kings affection to Parliaments; and were content to hope, that whileſt the Houſes ſate, the bad Councell about the King might be awed into moderation; and the Warre againſt *Scotland*, by wiſe and honeſt interpoſitions, might be againe compoſed, as it had been the Summer before.

But whileſt the buſineſſe was in debate, whether they were not quick enough in granting, or the Conditions were too much feared by the King, I will not judge, but onely relate what was done.

The King in Perſon came into the Houſe upon the fifth of *May*, and diſſolved the Parliament, but uſed faire language to them, proteſting that he would governe as much according to Law, as if a Parliament were conſtantly ſitting: Yet the next day after the diſſolution of it, ſome Members were impriſoned, the Lord BROOKE was ſearched for Papers, his Study, Cabinets, and Pockets; Maſter BELLOSIS, and Sir JOHN HOTHAM, were committed to Priſon for Speeches, but ſoone diſcharged; Maſter CREW, who was a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and was in the Chaire for Petitions concerning Miniſters, was committed to the Tower, for not diſcovering ſome Petitions delivered to him in Parliament, and continued a Priſoner almoſt to the beginning of the next Parliament.

After the diſſolution of this Parliament, the Convocation of Divines continued their ſitting, and by authority from the King, made divers Canons, and an Oath to be impoſed upon not onely Clergymen, but many of the Laity.

That continuance of the Convocation, whatſoever themſelves, perchance ignorant of the Law, might thinke of it, was judged very illegall, as it appeared

by the Votes of the ſucceeding Parliament, and the opinion of Lawyers delivered there.

When Maſter BAGSHAW, the *November* following, inveighing againſt thoſe Canons which were made whileſt they ſate, proved the Biſhops and Clergy in a premumire: The Lord DIGBY at the ſame time affirming, that their Convocation was a new Synod, patched out of an old Conventicle. Many other Lawyers of note at ſeverall times argued the caſe concerning thoſe Canons.

Inſomuch that the Houſe of Commons in *December* following, *nullo contradicente*, reſolved that thoſe Canons were againſt the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome, the Property and Liberty of the Subject: And in the following *Aprill*, 1641. falling againe upon the late Convocation, for their Canons and other miſdemeanours, they voted the Convocation Houſe in 200000 pounds fine to the King; The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to pay 20000 pounds, the Archbiſhop of *Yorke* 10000 pounds, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* 3000 pounds; and the reſt of the Clergy according to their abilities proportionably, to make up the ſumme.

Certaine it is, it was not in any ſubſtantiall way advantagious to the King; but onely to give them time and opportunity to taxe the Clergy in Money for ſupplying his Majeſty in the Warre then on foot againſt the Scots.

The King muſt needs be driven to a great exigent at that time, having ſo expenſive a Warre in hand, and wanting the aſſiſtance of Parliament.

The courſes that were then taken by the King, to ſupply that defect, were partly the contribution of the Clergy, to whom that Warre was leſſe diſpleaſing, then to the Laity.

Collections were made among the Papiſts; Writs of Ship-money were iſſued out againe, in a greater proportion

proportion then before; great Loanes were attempted to be drawne from the City of *London*, to which purpoſe the names of the richeſt Citizens were by command returned to the Councell Boord. But theſe waies being not ſufficient, ſome other were made uſe of, which were of a nature more unuſuall, as the ſeizing of *Bolloine* in the Tower; the Lord COTTINGTON alſo for the Kings uſe tooke up a great Commodity of Pepper at the Exchange, to be ſold againe at an under rate.

A conſultation was alſo had of coyning 400000. *l.* of baſe Money, upon allegation that Queen ELIZABETH had done the like for her Iriſh Warres, but the King waved that, upon reaſons which the Merchants gave of the inconveniencies of it.

The Scots hearing of the breach of this Engliſh Parliament, thought it high time to provide for their owne ſafety; and being reſtrained in their Trade, and impoveriſhed by loſſe of Ships ſeized in divers parts, reſolve to enter *England* with a ſword in one hand, and a Petition in the other; ſignifying in the meane time to the people of *England* in two large Remonſtrances, what their intentions were to that Nation, and the reaſons of their entrance; which who ſo pleaſes, may reade at large in their printed Booke.

When the King had notice of the Scots intentions, a Fleet was forthwith ſent to annoy the Maritime Coaſts of *Scotland*, and a Land Army to meet at *Yorke*, where the Earle of STRAFFORD, as Preſident of the North, commanded in Chief, though the Earle of NORTHUMBERLAND at the time of raiſing the Army was named *Generaliſſimo*, but for want of health could not be preſent.

A great Magazine of Ammunition had been ſent to *Hull*, *Newcaſtle*, and *Berwick*, the Caſtle of *Edenburgh* being kept by RIVEN, a firme man to the Kings ſide.

But

But in the Expedition of the Kings Army towards the North, it was a marvellous thing to obſerve in divers places the averſeneſſe of the Common Souldiers from this Warre.

Though Commanders and Gentlemen of great quality, in pure obedience to the King, ſeemed not at all to diſpute the cauſe or conſequence of this Warre; the Common Souldiers would not be ſatiſfied, queſtioning in a mutinous manner, Whether their Captaines were Papiſts or not, and in many places were not appeaſed till they ſaw them receive the Sacrament; laying violent hands on divers of their Commanders, and killing ſome, uttering in bold ſpeeches their diſtaſte of the Cauſe, to the aſtoniſhment of many, that common people ſhould be ſenſible of publike Intereſt and Religion, when Lords and Gentlemen ſeemed not to be.

By this backwardneſſe of the Engliſh Common Souldiers, it came to paſſe that the Warre proved not ſo ſharpe and fatall to both Nations, as it might otherwiſe have done.

Some blood was ſhed, but very little, firſt at *Newburne*, a Towne five miles diſtant from *Newcaſtle*, where part of the Engliſh Army encamped to intercept the paſſage of the Scots, as they marched toward *Newcaſtle*.

But many of the Engliſh Souldiers forſooke their Commanders and fled, ſooner then the uſe of that Nation is to do in Warre: But the Engliſh Horſe made good a fight, and with great courage and reſolution charged upon the Scots, but all in vaine, their number being too ſmall.

In this Skirmiſh which happened upon the 28. of *Auguſt*, the number of men ſlaine on both ſides is not related, either by the Engliſh or Scottiſh Relation; but certaine it is, that it was not great.

Three valiant and active Commanders of the Engliſh Army

Army were taken Priſoners, Colonell WILMOT Sir JOHN DIGBY, and ONEALE, the two latter being Papiſts, and both Captaines of Horſe.

This fight opened that rich Towne of *Newcaſtle* to the Scots, and within few daies after, they put a Garriſon into *Durham*, commanded by the Earle of *Dumferling*, and taking that Fort of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*, intercepted ſome Ships which were newly arrived there with Proviſion of Corne for the Kings Army.

Some blood was alſo ſhed about the ſame time, when part of the Engliſh Garriſon at *Berwick*, hearing that ſome Ammunition was layed up in a little Towne of *Scotland*, *Dunſian*, made an attempt upon it, but found it better fortified then was expected, and were repelled with ſome ſlaughter; from whence hearing that a greater power of Scots was making toward them, under the command of the Lord HADINTON, (who unfortunately periſhed afterward, blowne up with powder at *Dunglaſſe*) they returned to *Berwick*.

The King, during theſe Skirmiſhes, had by Proclamation warned all the Engliſh Nobility, with their followers and Forces, to attend his Standard at *Yorke* againſt the Scots, the 20. of *September*; where whileſt himſelfe in Perſon reſided, he received an humble Petition from the Scots, containing an expreſſion of their loyalty to him, and the innocence of their intentions toward *England*.

But their expreſſions were in ſuch generall termes, that the King returned anſwer to the Earle of LANURICK, Secretary for *Scotland*, Commanding them to ſpecifie their demands more particularly: Which whileſt the Scots prepared to do, it pleaſed God to open the hearts of many Engliſh Lords, who conſidering and bewailing the great calamity and diſhonour which *England* was then throwne into, by theſe unhappy proceedings of the King, framed an humble

Letter, ſubſcribed by all their hands, and ſent it to His Majeſty, wherein they repreſent to him the miſerable condition of the Kingdome, and miſchiefes attending that wicked Warre; as the danger of his Perſon, the waſte of his Revenue, the burden of his Subjects, the rapines committed by that Army which he had raiſed; wherein Papiſts, and others ill-affected to Religion, are armed in Commands, who are not by the Lawes permitted to have Armes in their owne houſes; The great miſchiefe which may fall upon the Kingdome, if his intentions, which are reported of bringing in Iriſh and forraigne Forces, ſhould take effect; The urging of Ship-money; The multitude of Monopolies and other Patents, to the great and univerſall grievance of his people; The great griefe of the Subjects, for the long intermiſſion of Parliaments, for diſſolving of the laſt, and former diſſolutions of ſuch as have been called, without any good effect: For remedy whereof, and for prevention of future dangers to his owne Royall Perſon, and the whole State, they humbly intreat his Majeſty, That he would be pleaſed to ſummon a Parliament within ſome ſhort and convenient time, whereby the cauſes of theſe, and other great grievances, which the people lye under, may be taken away, and the Authors and Counſellors of them, may be brought to legall tryall, and condigne puniſhment; And that this War may be compoſed without blood, in ſuch manner as may conduce to the honour and ſafety of his Majeſty, the comfort of the people, and uniting of both Kingdomes, againſt the Common Enemy of the Reformed Religion. Subſcribed by almoſt twenty Earles and Barons.

The King receiving this Meſſage from the Peeres of *England*; by his Proclamation ordained a day, which was upon 24. of *September*, for all the Lords to meet at *Yorke*, to whom he declared, that of his owne free accord he had determined to call a

Parliament

Parliament in *England*, to begin as ſoone as poſſibly could be, allowing the uſuall time for iſſuing out of Writs, which was upon the third of *November* enſuing, 1640.

But he deſired firſt to conſult with them, what anſwer to returne to the Scots demands, and how with his honour he might deale with them, who had ſo boldly invaded *England*.

And to make them underſtand the whole ſtate of the buſineſſe, he commanded the Earle of TRAQUARE, who had beene his Commiſſioner there, to relate all occurrences ſince the beginning.

He deſired likewiſe their advice how his Army might be payed before ſupplies of Parliament could come.

After many debates, and different opinions in point of honour and convenience; it was at laſt agreed by the greater part of Peeres, and ſo conluded, that ſixteene Lords ſhould be choſen to treat with the Scots, and agree upon what Conditions they thought fit.

Eight Earles were named, BEDFORD, ESSEX, HARTFORT, SALISBURY, WARWICK, HOLLAND, BRISTOLL, and BARKSHIRE; as likewiſe eight Barons, WHARTON, PAGET, KIMBOLTON, BROOKE, PAWLET, HOWARD, SAVILE, and DUNSMORE.

The Scots were required to ſend as many with full Commiſſion, to whom Letters of ſafe Conduct in the ampleſt manner were granted.

When the matter came to debate, the Earle of *Briſtoll* for the moſt part was Prolocutour to the Engliſh, and the Earle of LOWDEN to the Scots.

After many demands on both ſides, and expoſtulations upon ſleighter matters, which were eaſily reconciled, there was one point, which ſeemed too hard a caſe in the eyes of the Engliſh Peeres, that the Scottiſh Army ſhould be payed by the Engliſh,

whileſt their owne Army was in great diſtreſſe by reaſon of Arreares.

But in concluſion, thoſe honeſt Lords, who underſtood the condition of that unhappy Warre, were content upon any termes to make an end of it; and in concluſion an agreement was made upon theſe termes:

1. *A Truce or Ceſſation of Armes for two Moneths, till the* 16. *of* December.

2. *That* 850. l. *a day ſhould be paid to the Scots, during that Truce.*

3. *That if it were not payed, the Scots might force it from the Counties of* Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmerland, *and* Durham.

4. *That thoſe Counties ſhould be allowed the Scots for their winter Quarters.*

5. *No new preparations for Warre to be made.*

6. *That private injuries ſhould not breake the Truce, ſo ſatisfaction were made upon complaint.*

7. *That Merchants might freely traffique in either Kingdome, without Letters of ſafe Conduct, but Souldiers without leave might not paſſe their limits.*

Upon ſuch termes was this unnaturall Warre (although the Armies could not as yet be disbanded) brought to a Ceſſation; and both Nations reſted in aſſured confidence, that a peace muſt needs follow, ſince the whole matter was now to be debated in the Engliſh Parliament, which was to begin about a fortnight after; for it was likely that a Parliament ſhould put a period to that Warre, which could never have been begun, but for want of a Parliament. They were alſo confident, that that freedome which the fundamentall Lawes and Conſtitutions of the Kingdome of *England* allow to Parliaments, could not be denyed to this (though to many others it had long been) as being that Parliament, to which the King was neceſſitated; and the onely way which was now left him to tread, after ſo many deviations unfortunately

unfortunately tried; and upon which the people had ſet up their utmoſt hope, whom it ſeemed not ſafe after ſo long ſuffering, to provoke any further.

In what a deſperate condition the Kingdome of *England* was at that time, what neceſſity there was of a preſent cure, with how much difficulty that cure was to be wrought, and with what warineſſe and wiſdome it concerned both King and people to play their parts, a judicious Reader may partly conjecture by the former paſſages already related.

But further to enlighten the Reader (for in this plaine Relation I ſhall be ſparing to uſe any deſcants of my owne (I will referre him to Speeches which at the beginning of this Parliament were made by judicious Gentlemen, and thoſe of greateſt moderation, labouring as much as they could poſſibly to ſpare the King, and touch tenderly upon his Honour, which I ſhall mention anon.

According to the reaſon of the Parliament and Kingdome, went along the ſence of Courtiers themſelves (as was expreſſed in an ingenuous Treatiſe foundin the privy Chamber) concerning the condition in which the King and Kingdome of *England* were in, when this ſo much expected Parliament was to begin.

CHAP. VII.

The beginning of the Engliſh Parliament. Grievances examined. Sufferers relieved. Delinquents queſtioned. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury committed to the Tower. The flight of Secretary WINDEBANKE, *and of the Lord Keeper* FINCH.

ON the third of November 1640. the Parliament began; where the King expreſſed himſelfe very well, in a Speech gracious and acceptable to both Houſes; who did not expect from him any ſuch acknowledgement of former errours, as might ſeeme too low for the Majeſtie of his Perſon; but onely deſired to gaine his affection for the future.

Very pleaſing to them all was that gracious expreſſion, that *He did now cleerly and freely put himſelfe upon the love and affections of his Engliſh Subjects, deſiring them to conſider the beſt way for the Safety and Security of the Kingdome of* England; *and in order to it, for ſatisfaction of their juſt grievances, wherein he would ſo heartily concur, that the world might ſee his intentions were to make it a glorious and flouriſhing Kingdome. In which buſineſſe he did freely and willingly leave it to them where to beginne.*

He deſired alſo that all Jealouſies and Suſpitions might be layed aſide by them, which he promiſed to doe on his part. And withall, to give ſome reaſonable colour to his former Warre, whether to excuſe or juſtifie the Proceedings of it, hee ſeemed as yet much

much diſtaſted with the boldneſſe of the Scots, who had entred *England* with an Army againſt his will; calling them by the name of Rebels; and that it concerned the honour of him and *England*, to drive them out againe.

And in his ſecond Speech, two daies after, *I told you* (ſaid he) *that the Rebels muſt be put out of this Kingdome; it is true, I muſt needs call them ſo, ſo long as they have an Army that do invade us; although I am under Treaty with them, and under my Great Seale doe call them Subjects, for ſo they are too.*

His deſire to have them out, was ſweetned with that reaſon, That he was ſenſible how much his Engliſh Subjects of the North would ſuffer otherwiſe.

All which, with more particulars, was ſet forth in a long Oration by the Lord Keeper FINCH; who likewiſe juſtified the Kings intention of calling this Parliament, before the Peeres petitioned him at *Yorke*.

Though the King were thanked for his Grace toward his Engliſh Parliament; yet that motion of expelling the Scots, was otherwiſe conſidered of by the Houſes, as will appeare in the particulars of it: For about a weeke after it was ordered by the Houſe of Commons, That 100000 *l.* ſhould be paid to the two Armies, to be levied rateably upon all the Counties of *England*, (except the Northerne Counties, which were then charged) and till it could be leavied the Money to be taken up at Intereſt.

And Scottiſh Commiſſioners were allowed to come and exhibite their complaints, and diſpute the buſineſſe at *London*; who accordingly came thither about the nineteenth day of the ſame Moneth, for the buſineſſe was not yet ended, but ſtill in Treaty, which Treaty (as the King ſaid in his Speech) was but tranſported from *Kippon* to *London*.

Before the great cure, which was expected from this

this Parliament, could go on, it was neceſſary that ſome time ſhould be ſpent in ſearching and declaring the wounds, which in divers elegant and judicious Speeches, was done by ſome Members of both Houſes.

The abuſes which of late yeares had been committed about Religion, and the manifold violations of Lawes and Liberties, were upon the firſt day after the Houſe of Commons was ſetled, being the ninth of *November*, enumerated and diſcourſed upon by Maſter GRIMSTON, Sir BENJAMIN RUDIERD, Maſter PYM, and Maſter BAGSHAW, and the abuſes of *Ireland*, reflecting much upon the Earle of *Strafford*, were opened by Sir JOHN CLOTWORTHY of *Devon*, but living in *Ireland*.

The like Speeches for many daies following, were made by divers Gentlemen of great quality; where in the midſt of their complaints, the King was never mentioned, but with great Honour. They alwaies mixing thanks for the preſent hope of redreſſe, with their complaints of former grievances.

The firſt of which they rendred to the King, and threw the other upon his Miniſters; of which if the Reader would ſee a perfect exemplar, Sir BENJAMIN RUDYERD his Speech (the ſecond that was delivered in the Houſe) will beſt diſcover the preſent ſtate of grievances, and the way of ſparing the King, a Religious, Learned, and Judicious Gentleman.

Cujus erant mores, qualis facundia.

Whoſe Speech I ſhall wholly inſert, that the condition of the State may the better bee underſtood.

Maſter Speaker:

WEE are here aſſembled to doe Gods buſineſſe, and the Kings, in which our owne is included, as we are Chriſtians, as we are Subjects: Let us firſt feare God, then ſhall we honour the King

King the more; for I am afraid we have beene the leſſe proſperous in Parliaments, becauſe we have preferred other matters before him. Let Religion be our Primum quærite, *for all things elſe are but* Et cætera's *to it; yet we may have them too, ſooner and ſurer, if we give God his precedence.*

We well know what diſturbance hath been brought upon the Church for vaine petty trifles; How the whole Church, the whole Kingdome, hath been troubled, where to place a Metaphor, an Altar.

We have ſeene Miniſters, their wives, children, and families undone, againſt Law, againſt conſcience, againſt all bowels of compaſſion, about not dancing upon Sundaies: What do theſe ſort of men thinke will become of themſelves, when the Maſter of the Houſe ſhall come and finde them thus beating their fellow Servants?

Theſe inventions were but ſives, made of purpoſe to winnow the beſt men, and that is the Devills occupation.

They have a minde to worry preaching; for I never yet heard of any but diligent Preachers that were vext with theſe and the like devices.

They deſpiſe Prophecy, and as one ſaid, they would faine be at ſomething were like the Maſſe, that will not bite; a muzzled Religion. They would evaporate and diſ-ſpirit the power and vigour of Religion, by drawing it out into ſolemne and ſpecious formalities, into obſolete antiquated Ceremonies, new furbiſh'd up. And this (belike) is that good worke in hand, which Doctor HEYLIN *hath ſo celebrated in his bold Pamphlets: All their acts and actions are ſo full of mixtures, involutions, and complications, as nothing is cleare, nothing ſincere, in any of their proceedings: Let them not ſay, That theſe are the perverſe ſuſpitions, malicious interpretations of ſome factious ſpirits amongſt us, when a Romaniſt hath bragged and congratulated in print, That the face of our Church begins to alter, the Language of our Religion to change: And* SANCTA

CLARA *hath publiſhed, That if a Synod were held* Non intermixtis Puritanis, *ſetting Puritans aſide, our Articles and their Religion would ſoone be agreed.*

They have ſo brought it to paſſe, that under the name of Puritans, all our Religion is branded, and under a few hard words againſt Jeſuites, all Popery is countenanced.

Whoſoever ſquares his actions by any rule, either divine or humane, he is a Puritan: Whoſoever would be governed by the Kings Lawes, he is a Puritan.

He that will not do whatſoever other men would have him do, he is a Puritan. Their great worke, their Maſterpiece now is, to make all thoſe of the Religion, to be the ſuſpected party of the Kingdome.

Let us further reflect upon the ill effect theſe courſes have wrought, what by a defection from us on the one ſide, a ſeparation on the other; ſome imagining whether we are tending, made haſt to turne or declare themſelves Papiſts before hand; thereby hoping to render themſelves the more gracious, the more acceptable. A great company of the Kings Subjects, ſtriving to hold communion with us; but ſeeing how farre we were gone, and fearing how much further we would go, were forc'd to fly the Land, ſome into other inhabited Countries, very many into ſavage Wilderneſſes, becauſe the Land would not beare them. Do not they that cauſe this caſt a reproach upon the Government?

Maſter Speaker:

Let it be our principall care, that theſe waies neither continue, nor returne upon us; if we ſecure our Religion we ſhall cut off and defeat many plots that are now on foot by them and others. Beleeve it, Sir, Religion hath been for a long time, and ſtill is the great deſigne upon this Kingdome. It is a knowne and practiſed principle, That they who would introduce another Religion into the Church, muſt firſt trouble and diſorder the Government of the State, that ſo they may worke their ends in a confuſion, which now lies at the doore.

I come

I come next, Maſter Speaker, *to the Kings buſineſſe more particularly; which indeed is the Kingdomes, for one hath no exiſtence, no being, without the other, their relation is ſo neere; yet ſome have ſtrongly and ſubtilly laboured a divorſe, which hath been the very bane of both King and Kingdome.*

When foundations are ſhaken, it is high time to looke to the building; he hath no heart, no head, no ſoule, that is not moved in his whole man, to looke upon the diſtreſſes, the miſeries of the Common-wealth, that is not forward in all that he is and hath, to redreſſe them in a right way.

The King likewiſe is reduced to great ſtraights, wherein it were undutifulneſſe beyond inhumanity to take advantage of him: Let us rather make it an advantage for him, to do him beſt ſervice, when he hath moſt need, not to ſeeke our owne good, but in him, and with him, elſe we ſhall commit the ſame crimes our ſelves, which we muſt condemne in others.

His Majeſty hath cleerely and freely put himſelf into the hands of this Parliament; and I preſume, there is not a man in this Houſe, but feeles himſelf advanced in this high Truſt; but if he proſper no better in our hands, then he hath done in theirs, who have hitherto had the handling of his affaires, we ſhall for ever make our ſelves unworthy of ſo gracious a confidence.

I have often thought and ſaid, That it muſt be ſome great extremity, that would recover and rectifie this State, and when that extremity did come, it would be a great hazard, whether it might prove a remedy or ruine. We are now, Maſter Speaker, *upon that verticall turning point, and therefore it is no time to palliate, to foment our owne undoing.*

Let us ſet upon the remedy; we muſt firſt know the diſeaſe; But to diſcover the diſeaſes of the State, is (according to ſome) to traduce the Government; yet others are of opinion, That this is the halfe way to the Cure.

His Majeſty is wiſer then they that have adviſed him, and therefore he cannot but ſee and feele their ſubverting deſtructive Counſels, which ſpeak lowder then I can ſpeak of them; for they ring a dolefull deadly knell over the whole Kingdome: His Majeſty beſt knowes who they are. For us, let the matters bolt out the men, their actions diſcover them.

They are men that talk largely of the Kings Service, yet have done none but their owne, and that is too evident.

They ſpeak highly of the Kings power; but they have made it a miſerable power, that produceth nothing but weakneſſe, both to the King and Kingdome.

They have exhauſted the Kings Revenue to the bottome, nay through the bottome, and beyond.

They have ſpent vaſt ſums of money waſtfully, fruitleſly, dangerouſly; ſo that more money without other Councels, will be but a ſwift undoing.

They have alwaies peremptorily purſued one obſtinate pernicious courſe; firſt, they bring things to an extremity, then they make that extremity of their owne making, the reaſon of their next action, ſeven times worſe then the former; and there we are at this inſtant.

They have almoſt ſpoiled the beſt inſtituted Government in the world, for Soveraignty in a King, Liberty to the Subject, the proportionable temper of both which, makes the happieſt State for power, for riches, for duration.

They have unmannerly, and ſlubbringly, caſt all their projects, all their machinations, upon the King, which no wiſe or good Miniſter of State ever did, but would ſtill take all harſh, diſtaſtefull things, upon themſelves, to cleare, to ſweeten their Maſter.

They have not ſuffered His Majeſty to appeare unto his people in his owne native goodneſſe.

They have ecclipſed him by their interpoſitions. Although groſſe condenſe bodies may obſcure and hinder the Sun from ſhining out, yet he is ſtill the ſame in his owne ſplendour.

ſplendour. And when they are removed, all creatures under him are directed by his light, comforted by his Beames.

But they have framed a ſuperſtitious ſeeming Maxime of State for their owne turne, That if a King will ſuffer men to be torne from him, he ſhall never have any good ſervice done him. *When the plaine truth is, That this is the ſureſt way to preſerve a King from having ill ſervants about him; and the Divine truth likewiſe is,* Take away the wicked from the King, and his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed.

Maſter Speaker: *Now we ſee what the ſores are in generall; and when more particulars ſhall appeare, let us be very carefull to draw out the cores of them, not to skin them over with a ſlight ſuppurating feſtring cure, leaſt they breake out againe into a greater miſchiefe: Conſider of it, conſult, and ſpeake your minds.*

It hath heretofore been boaſted, That the King ſhould never call a Parliament, till he had no need of his people: Theſe were words of diviſion, and Malignity. The King muſt alwaies, according to his occaſions, have uſe of the peoples power, hearts, hands, purſes; The people will alwaies have need of the Kings Clemency, Juſtice, Protection: And this reciprocation is the ſtrongeſt, the ſweeteſt union.

It hath been ſaid too of late, That a Parliament will take away more from the King, then they will give him. It may well be ſaid, That thoſe things which will fall away of themſelves, will enable the Subject to give him more then can be taken any way elſe. Projects and Monopolies are but leaking Conduit-Pipes; The Exchequer it ſelfe at the fulleſt, is but a Ciſterne, and now a broken one; Frequent Parliaments onely are the fountaines, and I do not doubt, but in this Parliament, as we ſhall be free in our advices, ſo ſhall we be the more free of our purſes, that His Majeſty may experimentally finde the reall difference of better Councels, the true ſolid grounds of raiſing and eſtabliſhing his Greatneſſe, never to be brought againe

(by Gods bleſſing) to ſuch dangerous, ſuch deſperate perplexities.

Maſter Speaker: *I confeſſe I have now gone in a way much againſt my nature, and ſomewhat againſt my cuſtome heretofore uſed in this place: But the deplorable, diſmall condition, both of Church and State, have ſo farre wrought upon my judgement, as it hath convinced my diſpoſition; yet am I not* vir ſanguinum; *I love no mans ruine: I thank God, I neither hate any mans perſon, nor envy any mans fortune, onely I am zealous of a thorow Reformation, in a time that exacts, that extorts it. Which I humbly beſeech this Houſe, may be done with as much lenity, as much moderation, as the publike ſafety of the King and Kingdome can poſſibly admit.*

In ſo great a concurrence of buſineſſe, and weighty affaires, concerning the ſafety, and the very being of three Kingdomes, as farre as the Parliament had leiſure to conſider and redreſſe the damages or other injuries of particular perſons; Their firſt care was to vindicate diſtreſſed Miniſters, who had been impriſoned, or deprived by the Biſhops, and all others who in the Cauſe of Religion had been perſecuted by them: Many of thoſe Miniſters, within few weeks after the beginning of the Parliament were releaſed from durance, and reſtored to their Charges, with damages from their oppreſſours; Many Doctors and other Divines, that had been moſt buſie in promoting the late Church innovations about Altars and other Ceremonies, and therefore moſt gracious and flouriſhing in the State, were then queſtioned and committed, inſomuch as the change, and the ſuddenneſſe of it, ſeemed wonderfull to men, and may worthily ſerve as a document to all poſterity.

Quam fragili loco ſtarent ſuperbi.

In what fraile places ſtand the proudeſt men.

Among divers others of this kinde, and the moſt remarkable of all, was that reliefe which the Parliament,

ment, immediately upon their first sitting, gave to three persecuted Gentlemen, Doctor BASTWICK a Phisitian, Master PRYNNE a Lawyer, and Master BURTON a Minister.

The whole passage of whose Story we will here insert in one continued discourse, that it may not hereafter interrupt any other Relations of busineſſe.

These three men, for the same offence, or very little differing in substance, (as those that read their extant Bookes may perceive) not being able to containe themselves in such a cause, had written against the manner of English Episcopacy, and those inconveniencies, or extravagancies, which, as they conceived, flowed from it, to the prejudice of purity in Religion; For which offence they were all three heavily censured in the High Commission Court, at severall times, and committed to severall Prisons, where they long remained in durance, till afterward their cause was brought into the Starre-Chamber, where they received a sad doome; and the same day stood all three upon Pillories in *Westminster* Pallace yard, where their eares were likewise cut off.

It seemed, I remember, to many Gentlemen (and was accordingly discoursed of) a spectacle no lesse strange then sad, to see three of severall Professions, the noblest in the Kingdome, Divinity, Law, and Phisick, exposed at one time to such an ignominious punishment, and condemned to it by Protestant Magistrates, for such Tenents in Religion, as the greatest part of Protestants in *England* held, and all the Reformed Churches in *Europe* maintained.

But the Court of Starre-Chamber seemed to take cognizance onely of their unlawfull publishing those Tenents, and disobedience to the Authority then in being.

This was but the beginning of their punishment; they were afterward banished to remote places of the Kingdom,

Kingdom, and there kept in cloſe and ſolitary confinement, not allowed pen and paper, nor the ſight of any friends, no not ſo much (for two of them were married) as of their owne wives. Their impriſonments, at ſeverall removes, were in the Caſtles of *Lanceſton*, *Lancaſter*, *Carnarvon*, and Iſles of *Sylly*, *Garnſey*, and *Jerſey*.

Theſe three, within five daies after the Parliament began to ſit, were ſent for home from their baniſhment; and accordingly Maſter PRYNNE, and Maſter BURTON, upon the 28. of *November* came into *London*, (Doctor BASTWICK within few daies after in the ſame manner) being met upon the way, ſome few miles from *London*, and brought into the City by five thouſand perſons, both men and women, on horſeback, who all of them wore in their hats Roſemary and Bayes, in token of Joy and Triumph.

The diſcourſes of men upon this action, were very different, ſome both of the Clergy, of the Court, and other Gentlemen beſides, did not conceale their diſlike of it, affirming that it was a bold and tumultuous affront to Courts of Juſtice; and the Kings Authority: Others, who pitied the former ſufferings of thoſe men, and they that wiſhed Reformation in matters of Juſtice, were pleaſed with it; hoping that it would worke good effects in the Kings minde, and make him ſenſible how his people ſtood diſ-affected to the rigour of ſuch proceedings; and eſteemed it as a good preſage of the ruine of thoſe two Courts, the High Commiſſion, and Star-Chamber. Which proved true within halfe a yeare after.

How it wrought at that preſent upon the King, is not knowne. But actions of that nature, where the people of their owne accords, in a ſeeming tumultuous manner, do expreſſe their liking or diſlike of matters in Government, cannot have alwaies the ſame ſucceſſe, but worke according to the diſpoſition of the

the Prince or Governour, either to a ſenſe cauſing Reformation, or to an hatred of them as upbraiders of his actions, *aut corrigunt, aut irritant.*

Within a moneth after, the buſineſſe of theſe three men, was by Order of the Parliament referred to Committees to examine and report.

Upon which reports, not two Moneths after, it was voted by the Houſe of Commons, That thoſe Judgements ſo given againſt them (but ſeverally for every one of the three) were illegall, unjuſt, and againſt the liberty of the Subject; and within a month after voted that they ſhould receive damages for their great ſufferings; and ſatisfaction ſhould be made them in money, to be paid by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the High Commiſſioners, and thoſe Lords who had voted againſt them in the Star-Chamber; That they ſhould be againe reſtored to their callings, and receive Maſter BURTON 6000. *l.* and Maſter PRYNNE 5000. *l.* Doctor BASTWICK in a vote by himſelf was given the like ſumme.

As theſe were comforted after their ſufferings, ſo other Divines (for the beginning of this Parliament ſeemed a little Doomeſday) after a ſhort pleaſure were brought to their torment.

A Committee was made to enquire of ſcandalous Miniſters; which appeared in two kindes (and were accordingly cenſured) either looſe livers, and men of a debauched behaviour, for many ſuch were gotten into good preferments, and countenanced to affront the Puritans; or elſe offendours in way of Superſtition; of the former ſort many were in ſhort time accuſed, by degrees cenſured, and turned out of their livings: Of the latter ſort there was no ſmall number of offendors, nor in likelihood could that, which had beene the way to all high preferments, want walkers in it.

Among all the men of his ranke, Dr. COOSENS, Maſter of Saint *Peters* Colledge in *Cambridge*, was

moſt noted for ſuperſtitious and curious obſervations in many kindes; a man not noted for any great depth of learning, nor yet ſcandalous for ill living, but onely forward to ſhew himſelfe in formalities and outward Ceremonies concerning Religion, many of which were ſuch as a Proteſtant State might not well ſuffer.

This man was queſtioned upon many Articles, ſome by himſelfe, ſome, where other Divines were joyned with him, impriſoned he was, afterwards bayled; and though deprived of ſome preferments, yet eſcaped without any great puniſhment, and was one of them, in that crowd of offendors, who might rejoyce that the Parliament had ſo much buſineſſe.

But greater Clergymen then Doctor COOSENS were then to come upon the Stage; Biſhop WRENNE a man guilty of the ſame crime in Superſtition, that COOSENS was, as farre as concerned his owne perſon, but farre more guilty as a Magiſtrate, and able to impoſe it upon others, was upon the *19.* of *December* accuſed of Treaſon, and entred into a recognizance of 30000 *l.* to appeare, with three ſureties ingaged each of them in bonds of 10000. *l.*

This WRENNE being Biſhop of *Norwich*, a Dioceſſe in which there were as many ſtrict Profeſſors of Religion (commonly called Puritans) as in any part of *England*, had there violently preſſed ſuperſtitious Ceremonies, or ſuch as they conceived ſo, upon them, put downe accuſtomed Lectures, and deprived many Miniſters much beloved and reverenced among them. By which rigour he grew accidentally guilty of a wonderfull crime againſt the wealth and proſperity of the State.

For many Tradeſmen (with whom thoſe parts abounded) were ſo afflicted and troubled with his Eccleſiaſticall cenſures and vexations, that in great numbers, to avoid miſery, they departed the Kingdome, ſome into new *England*, and other parts of *America*, others

others into *Holland*, whether they tranſported their Manufactures of Cloth, not onely a loſſe by diminiſhing the preſent ſtock of the Kingdome, but a great miſchiefe by impairing and indangering the loſſe of that peculiar Trade of Clothing, which hath been a plentifull fountaine of Wealth and Honour to the Kingdome of *England*, as it was expreſſed in the Parliament Remonſtrance; but more particular crimes were laid againſt the Biſhop, which there may be occaſion to diſcourſe of hereafter, in the proceedings againſt him.

The day before Biſhop WRENNE was accuſed, being the 18. of *December*, a greater man, both in Church and State, WILLIAM LAUD, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was voted in the Houſe of Commons guilty of High Treaſon; Maſter DENZILL HOLLIS, a Member of that Houſe, was ſent up to the Lords, to appeach him there; upon which he was ſequeſtred, and confined to the Black Rod. He was alſo charged by the Scottiſh Commiſſioners, together with the Earle of *Strafford*, as a chiefe Incendiary in the late Warre betweene both Nations; and divers Articles laid againſt him; which to examine and diſcuſſe further, a Committee was appointed.

Upon the 23. of *February*, Maſter PYMME made report to the Houſe of Commons, what hainous and capitall crimes were objected againſt him: Upon which the Houſe fell into a ſerious debate, and a Charge of High Treaſon in fourteene Articles was drawne up againſt him; which Charge two daies after was ſent from the Houſe of Commons by Maſter PYMME up to the Lords.

The Archbiſhop was that day brought before the Lords, to heare that Charge read; and it was there voted, That he ſhould immediately be ſent to the Tower; but upon his earneſt ſuit, for ſome ſpeciall reaſons, he was two daies longer ſuffered to abide under the Black Rod, and then accordingly ſent to

the Tower; where we will leave him. till the courſe of this Narration bring him to further triall upon thoſe Articles.

Civill offendors, as well as Eccleſiaſticall, muſt needs be many, in ſo long a corruption of Government; of whom one, as he was firſt in time, and ſoone left the Stage, beſides his chiefe Crime concerning matters of Church and Religion, ſo he ſhall firſt be named.

Sir FRANCIS WINDEBANKE, Principall Secretary of Eſtate, a great Favourite and friend to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and by his friendſhip, as was thought, advanced to that place of Honour, was upon the 12 of *November* queſtioned in an high kinde concerning Popiſh Prieſts; of whom in that ſeven or eight yeares that he had been Secretary, he had bayled a great number, and releaſed many by his power, contrary to the Lawes made, and then in force againſt them; which being examined by a Committee, and certaine to prove foule againſt him, as it did afterward; for upon examination there were proved againſt him 74. Letters of grace to Recuſants within foure yeares, ſigned with his owne hand, 64 Prieſts diſcharged from the Gate-Houſe, 29 diſcharged by a verball Warrant from him; he thought it his beſt courſe, before triall, to fly the Land; ſo that upon the fourth of *December* newes was brought to the Houſe, that Secretary WINDEBANKE, with Maſter READ his chiefe Clarke, was fled; and ſoone after, notice was given that he arrived in *France*, where he long continued.

About that time came the great buſineſſe of Ship-Money into debate in Parliament; and was voted by both Houſes to be a moſt illegall Taxation, and unſufferable grievance; in reference to which caſe, almoſt all the Judges were made Delinquents, for their extrajudiciall opinions in it, as more particularly will afterward appeare. As for other petty grievances,

ſuch

ſuch as were the multitude of Monopolies upon all things, and Commodities of greateſt and moſt familiar uſe; the Houſe daily condemned them, and the Delinquents of meaner note in that kinde, were examined and cenſured, too many to be here named: Nay, ſo impartiall was the Houſe of Commons in that caſe, that many of their owne Members, who had been guilty of ſuch Monopolies, were daily turned out of the Houſe for that offence.

But the buſineſſe of Ship-money, did reflect with a deeper ſtaine of guilt upon the then Lord Keeper FINCH, then upon any of the other Judges whatſoever, for his great activity and labouring in it, by threats and promiſes working upon the other Judges, as we finde alleadged againſt him.

Sir JOHN FINCH, in the yeare 1636. when that Taxation of Ship-money was firſt plotted and ſet on foot, was newly made Lord Chiefe Juſtice of the Common Pleas, a man in favour with the King, and many of the greateſt Lords in Court, having before been the Queenes Attorney, a Gentleman of good birth, of an high and Imperious ſpirit, eloquent in ſpeech, though in the knowledge of the Law not very deepe.

Upon the death of the Lord Keeper COVENTRY about *December* 1639. the King was pleaſed to conferre that high Truſt of keeping the Great Seale upon him; which Office at this time he held.

Upon the ſeventh of *December*, when Ship-money was fully debated, and abſolutely damned by the Houſe of Commons, and the offence of the Judges began to be ſcanned, ſixteene Gentlemen of that Houſe were choſen to examine thoſe Judges, that had given their extrajudiciall opinions for it (for three gave their opinions otherwiſe: The arguments of two, Judge CROOKE, and Judge HUTTON, were very famous; Baron DENHAM, by reaſon of ſickneſſe, could not declare his opinion in ſo large a man-

ner) what threats or promiſes had been uſed to them, and by what perſons.

Upon which examination, and further light given, the next day a Committee was named to draw up Charges againſt the Judges, and againſt the Lord FINCH, then Lord Keeper, a Charge of High Treaſon. He not many daies after, became an humble Suitor to the Houſe of Commons, That before the Charge of High Treaſon were delivered againſt him, they would be pleaſed to heare him *Ore Tenus* in their owne Houſe.

His ſuit was granted; and the next day ſave one, in a long Oration he endeavoured to cleare himſelfe; but all in vaine was that endeavour, though his deportment were very humble and ſubmiſſive, and his Speech full of perſwaſive Rhetorick, it could not prevaile to divert the Judgement, though many in the Houſe were moved to a kinde of Compaſſion.

He, either ſecretly informed by friends, or himſelf perceiving by evident ſignes, how things were likely to go with him, conceived it beſt to uſe a timely prevention, and the next day diſguiſed fled, and ſoone croſſed the Seas into *Holland*.

Afrer his flight, he was voted by the Houſe of Commons guilty of High Treaſon for foure cauſes:

1. Diſobeying the Houſe, in refuſall to ſpeake at their command, when he was Speaker in Parliament, in the fourth yeare of King CHARLES.

2. For threatning ſome Judges in the matter of Ship-money.

3. For his illegall and cruell Judgements in the Forreſt buſineſſe, when he was Lord Chiefe Juſtice of the Common Pleas.

4. For drawing that injurious Declaration after diſſolution of the laſt Parliament.

Upon which a Charge was drawne up againſt him, and carried up to the Lords upon the 14. of *January*, three weeks after his flight, by the Lord FAWKLAND; who

who preſented it with a very pithy and ſharpe Oration againſt the man.

Theſe two laſt Delinquents (though men of eminent place in the Common-wealth) as they did not long trouble the Parliament, nor much retard the progreſſe of publike buſineſſe, preventing their Trialls by timely flight, ſo can they take up no large roome in this Hiſtoricall Narration.

CHAP. VIII.

The Tryall and death of the Earle of Strafford. *Conſpiracies detected during the agitation of it. An Act for continuance of this preſent Parliament. With a mention of that Grant of the Trienniall Parliament in February before.*

BUt now a greater Actor is brought upon the Stage, THOMAS Earle of *Strafford*, Lieutenant of *Ireland*, a man too great to be let eſcape; no ſooner accuſed but ſurprized, and ſecured for a Tryall.

Which Tryall of his, if we conſider all things, the high nature of the Charge againſt him; the pompous circumſtances, and ſtately manner of the Triall it ſelfe; the time that it laſted; the pretiouſneſſe of that time ſo conſumed; and laſtly, of what moment and conſequence the ſucceſſe of it muſt prove, I may ſafely ſay, that no Subject in *England*, and probably in *Europe*, ever had the like.

So great it was, that we can hardly call it the Triall of the Earle of *Strafford* onely; the Kings affections toward his People and Parliament, the future ſucceſſe of

of this Parliament, and the hopes of three Kingdoms depending on it, were all tryed, when *Strafford* was arraigned.

Many Subjects in *Europe* have played lowder parts upon the Theater of the world, but none left it with greater noiſe; nor was the matter of his accuſation confined within one Realme; three whole Kingdoms were his Accuſers, and eagerly ſought in one death a recompence of all their ſufferings: That we may ſay of his caſe, as CLAUDIAN of RUFFINUS.

Offenſis Ruffinum *divide terris.*

Within ten daies after the Parliament began, the Earle of *Strafford* newly returned from the North, was ſitting in the Houſe of Lords; when Maſter PYMME, an ancient Gentleman of great experience in Parliamentary affaires, and no leſſe knowne fidelity to his Country, came up to the Lords, and in the name of all the Commons of *England*, accuſed THOMAS Earle of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, of High Treaſon; and deſired their Lordſhips that he might be ſequeſtred from Parliament, and forthwith committed to Priſon; as alſo to let them know, that the Commons within very few daies would reſort to their Lordſhips with the particular Articles and grounds of this Accuſation.

The Earle was required to withdraw; and after a debate thereof, called in, was committed to ſafe cuſtody to the Gentleman Uſher; And immediately after, upon the 13. day of *November*, a Serjeant at Armes was ſent into *Ireland* for Sir GEORGE RATLIFFE, a great Favourite of the Earles, and one that under him had beene very active in the oppreſſion of *Ireland*; a man of ſubtle wit, and knowledge of the Law; as having before beene educated at the Innes of Court, and taken the degree of Barriſter.

Sir GEORGE accordingly upon the fourth of *December* came in, and yeelded himſelfe to the Speaker; from

from whence he was committed to cuſtody. And foure daies after the Lords of Parliament ſent the Earle of *Strafford* to the Tower, with a ſtrict command to the Lieutenant, that he ſhould keepe a cloſe guard upon him.

Much time was interpoſed betweene the ſeverall proceedings againſt this Earle of *Strafford*, by reaſon of the multiplicity of weighty buſineſſe which the Parliament then had. But before the end of *January*, a long Charge was read againſt him in the Houſe of Commons, and a Meſſage not long after ſent to the Lords, to deſire that he might be ſequeſtred from all his places of Dignity and Honour, in *England* and *Ireland*.

The Charge againſt him conſiſted of nine Articles, which afterwards upon a further impeachment, were extended to eight and twenty. All thoſe Articles are to be ſeene at large in the Records: But for further ſatisfaction of the Reader, I will give a briefe touch of the ſcope of them. The firſt and ſecond being much alike, concerning his ruling of *Ireland*, and thoſe parts of *England*, where his Authority lay, in an Arbitrary way, againſt the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome, which Lawes he had indeavoured to ſubvert. Thirdly, his retaining part of the Kings Revenue, without giving a legall account. Fourthly, The abuſing of his Power, to the increaſe and incouragement of Papiſts. Fifthly, That he maliciouſly had indeavoured to ſtir up Hoſtility betweene *England* and *Scotland*. Sixthly, That being Lieutenant Generall of the Northerne Army, he had wilfully ſuffered the Scots to defeat the Engliſh at *Newburne*, and take *Newcaſtle*; that by ſuch a loſſe and diſhonour, *England* might be ingaged in a Nationall and irreconcileable quarrell with the Scots. Seventhly, That to preſerve himſelfe from queſtioning, he had laboured to ſubvert Parliaments, and incenſe the King againſt them. Eightly and laſtly, That theſe

things were done during the time of his Authority as Deputy of *Ireland*, and Lieutenant Generall of the Northerne Armies in *England*.

The Commons, ſaving to themſelves a liberty of further impeachment againſt the ſaid Earle, &c. do require his legall anſwer to all.

The further impeachment, conſiſting of 28. Articles, was for the moſt part branched out of theſe, and inſiſted upon in more particulars, concerning his Tyranny in *Ireland* over divers perſons, contrary to Law. Concerning which the Reader muſt be referred to the Records themſelves, as being too large to be here inſerted.

The Earle of *Strafford* upon the 23. of *February* was brought before the Lords, to give in his anſwer; which he accordingly did; the King himſelf being there preſent to heare it read.

It was very large, and when it was done, he was ſent back to the Tower, there to remaine till further Order.

A Committee being appointed to conſider of that buſineſſe, upon the fourth of *March* following made report in the Houſe, That they would mannage and maintaine their Accuſation of Treaſon againſt him; and thought it not fit to reply to his Anſwer, but call him to ſpeedy triall.

Immediately upon which, a Conference was had with the Lords concerning that Triall, and ſome Circumſtances which were thought fit to be uſed at it.

The Commiſſioners of *Scotland* had likewiſe a Charge againſt the Earle of *Strafford*; concerning thoſe injuries, which, as they conceived, their Nation and Kingdome had ſuffered from him. But the ſubſtance of that Charge was implyed in theſe Articles before ſpecified, which the Parliament of *England* had exhibited againſt him.

Upon the 22. of *March*, 1640. that remarkable

ble Tryall of the Earle of STRAFFORD began.

Weſtminſter Hall was the place choſen, where Scaffolds were raiſed on both ſides, nine degrees in height; whereof ſeven were appointed for the Members of the Houſe of Commons to ſit on, who were all there in a Committee: The two upper degrees of the Scaffold, were appointed for the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, and the Lords of *Ireland*, who were then come over.

In the midſt, on a lower aſcent, ſate the Peeres of *England*, the Earle of *Arundell* being Lord high Steward, and the Earle of *Lindſey* Lord High Conſtable. The Throne was placed for the King: But the King comming thither (which he did every day of the tryall) ſate private with the Queene and other Ladies, in a cloſe Gallery, made of purpoſe to heare the proceedings, and tooke notes himſelfe in writing of them,

The Earle of *Strafford* anſwered daily at the Barre, whileſt the whole Houſe of Commons, having put themſelves into a Committee, had liberty to charge him, every man as he ſaw occaſion: But though many of them did ſometimes ſpeake, yet the accuſations were chiefly managed by two expert Lawyers, Maſter GLYNNE, and Maſter MAYNARD, both Members of the Houſe.

Many foule miſdemeanours, committed both in *Ireland* and *England*, were daily proved againſt him: But that ward which the Earle, being an eloquent man, eſpecially lay at; was to keepe off the blow of High Treaſon, whatſoever miſdemeanours ſhould be layed upon him; of which, ſome he denied, others he excuſed, and extenuated with great ſubtilty; contending to make one thing good, That miſdemeanours, though never ſo many and ſo great, could not by being put together make one Treaſon, unleſſe ſome one of them had been Treaſon in its owne nature.

Every day the firſt weeke, from Munday to Saturday, without intermiſſion, the Earle was brought from the Tower to *Weſtminſter* Hall, and arraigned many houres together; and the ſucceſſe of every daies tryall, was the greateſt diſcourſe or diſpute in all companies.

For by this time the people began to be a little divided in opinions; The Clergy in generall were ſo much fallen into love and admiration of this Earle, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was almoſt quite forgotten by them.

The Courtiers cryed him up, and the Ladies, whoſe voices will carry much with ſome parts of the State, were exceedingly on his ſide.

It ſeemed a very pleaſant object, to ſee ſo many Sempronias (all the chiefe Court Ladies filling the Galleries at the Tryall) with penne, inke, and paper in their hands, noting the paſſages, and diſcourſing upon the grounds of Law and State. They were all of his ſide; whether moved by pitty, proper to their Sex, or by ambition of being thought able to judge of the parts of the Priſoner.

But ſo great was the favour, and love, which they openly expreſſed to him; that ſome could not but thinke of that Verſe:

Non formoſus erat, ſed erat facundus Ulyſſes;
Et tamen æquoreas torſit amore Deas.
Ulyſſes, though not beautifull, the love
Of Goddeſſes by eloquence could move.

But his Triall in this manner laſted, with few daies intermiſſion, from the 22. of *March*, till the midſt of *Aprill* following, the Earle having perſonally anſwered fifteene daies.

After all this long Triall, the Houſe of Commons fell into debate about a Bill of Attainder againſt the Earle of *Strafford*; and voted him guilty of high Treaſon in divers particulars of that Accuſation, in which they had proceeded againſt him; and in more particular

particular he was voted guilty of High Treaſon, for his opinion given before the King, at a ſecret Councell, which was diſcovered by ſome notes of Sir HENRY VANE, who was alſo a Privy Councellor, and preſent at that time; in which notes it was found that the Earle of *Strafford* had ſaid to the King, *That he had an Army in* Ireland, *which his Majeſty might imploy to reduce this Kingdome to obedience.*

Theſe notes Sir HENRY VANE, eldeſt Sonne to the before named Sir HENRY had found (as he alleadged to the Houſe) in his Fathers Cabinet, and produced before the Houſe without his Fathers knowledge; who ſeemed extreme angry with his Sonne for it.

This is related the more at large, becauſe it was the firſt occaſion (that was open and viſible) whereby ſo eminent a Member as the Lord GEORGE DIGBY was loſt from the Houſe of Commons, as will afterward appeare: For that Vote was oppoſed by the Lord DIGBY, and ſome others.

Nevertheleſſe a Committee was appointed to draw up the Bill of Attainder, which was accordingly done, and read in the Houſe of Commons on the 21 day of *April*, when the Earle was againe voted guilty of High Treaſon; which was carried by farre the greater part; for on the other ſide were but nine and fifty, of whom the Lord DIGBY was one; who made to that purpoſe a very elegant, though much diſpleaſing, Speech in the Houſe; Of which more hereafter.

That Bill of Attainder was ſent up to the Lords, where after the reading of it, a great diviſion was in that Houſe, and many of the Lords much oppoſed it.

But Maſter St. JOHN, the Kings Solicitour, and a Member of the Houſe of Commons, was appointed within few daies after to make good the Bill by Law, and give the Lords ſatisfaction, which was accord-

ingly done upon the 29. of *April* in *Weſtminſter* Hall; where the Earle of *Strafford* was preſent at the Barre, and the King and Queene ſeated in their uſuall places.

Maſter St. JOHN opened the Branches of the Bill, and in a Diſcourſe of two houres made it good by precedent Statutes, and the like, to the ſatisfaction of almoſt all that heard him.

But the King was not ſatisfied in conſcience, as he declared to both Houſes two daies after, to condemne him of High Treaſon; and told them, No feares or reſpects whatſoever ſhould make him alter that reſolution, founded upon his conſcience: But confeſſed, that his miſdemeanors were ſo great, he held him unfit to ſerve him in any Office whatſoever; with other expreſſions of that kinde.

The Kings Speech was ſomewhat diſpleaſing to the Houſes; but the City were out of patience, and within foure daies after came to *Weſtminſter*, about five thouſand of them, crying for Juſtice againſt the Earle of *Strafford*; and following the Lords, complaining that they were undone, and trading decayed for want of due execution of Juſtice.

The Lords gave them good words, and promiſed them to acquaint the King with it. But the next day they appeared againe with the ſame complaint. Their feares being more aggravated, by reaſon of reports, that attempts were made to get the Earle out of Priſon; upon which occaſion ſome Lords were ſent to keepe the Tower, and aſſiſt the Lieutenant there.

But the King was hard to be removed from his reſolution, although the Judges in the meane time had delivered their opinions in the Houſe of Lords concerning the Earle of *Strafford*; and the Lords had voted him guilty of High Treaſon upon the fifteenth Article, for leavying of money in *Ireland* by force of Armes; and upon the nineteenth, for impoſing an Oath

Oath upon the Subjects in *Ireland*, That they ſhould not proteſt againſt any of the Kings Commands.

The King at laſt, wearied with theſe complaints, called a Privy Councell at *White-Hall*, where he ſpent a great part of the day, calling alſo the Judges to deliver their opinions before him, concerning the Earle of *Strafford*; and ſent for foure Biſhops, to reſolve him upon ſcruple of conſcience. After which he granted a Commiſſion to the Earle of *Arundell*, the Lord Privy Seale, and the two Lord Chamberlaines, to ſigne that Bill for the execution of the Earle of *Strafford* three daies after, being Wedneſday, the 12. of *May*, 1641. which was accordingly done upon the Scaffold on Tower Hill.

This was the unfortunate end of that Earle of *Strafford*, whoſe character and actions have beene in ſome manner before deſcribed.

Of whom we may truly ſay, That as his life and Councells had been of great moment and concernment in the State before, ſo did his death and Tryall by unhappy accidents prove to be.

The diviſions and diſturbances which his life could make, were not greater then thoſe that his death occaſioned.

APPIANUS obſerves of SYLLA the Dictator, That as his living power had rob'd the Romane Senate of their freedome; ſo did his very Funerall: Where ſo many of his old Souldiers and Hacſters followed the ſolemnity, that the Senators who were preſent, durſt not with freedome expreſſe their thoughts of him; but were inforced to flatter him dead, as well as living.

How farre the Earle of *Strafford* did in his life time divide the Kings affections from his People and Parliaments (which was part of his Charge) I cannot ſurely tell; But certaine it is, That his Tryall and death (which has made me inſiſt the longer upon it)

it) did make ſuch a diviſion in that kinde, as, being unhappily nouriſhed by degrees afterward, has almoſt ruined the three Kingdomes.

The length of his Tryall, whileſt two Armies at an heavy expence were to be paid, and other buſineſſe at a great ſtand, did divide ſome impatient people (at leaſt in ſome degree) from the Parliament; The manner of his condemnation divided the Parliament in it ſelfe; and the eager preſſing of his death did diſcover or cauſe a ſad diviſion of the King from his Parliament.

Nine and fifty Members of the Houſe of Commons diſſented in Vote from the reſt, upon the Bill of Attainder; Upon which ſome indiſcreet perſons (for ſo I muſt needs eſteeme them, though it was never knowne who they were, or by whoſe notice it was done) the next day ſet up a paper upon the Exchange, with the names of thoſe nine and fifty, and a Title over it, *The names of thoſe men, who to ſave a Traytor, would betray their Country.*

They that were thus poſted up, ſuppoſing it to be done or cauſed by ſome of their Houſe, were much provoked at it, many of them growing by degrees diſ-affected to the Parliament, (not all, for there were among thoſe diſſenting Gentlemen very wiſe and learned men) and upon that unhappy diſtraction that fell out about a yeere after, forſooke the Parliament.

Upon the ſame Bill of Attainder, the Lord DIGBY made his foreſaid Speech, which by a Command from the Houſe (for he had printed it) was to be burnt by the Hangman, which was the viſible cauſe of his deſerting the Parliament, and proving ſo great an Actor againſt it, as ſhall hereafter be declared.

The worſt conſequence of all was, that the Kings heart did upon this occaſion appeare to be quite alienated from the Parliament.

For

For to prevent the Earle of *Straffords* death, an eſcape for him out of the Tower was contrived. To further which, and to curbe the Parliament in other things by force of Armes, a great conſpiracy was entred into by many Gentlemen of ranke and quality. The deſigne of this conſpiracy had many Branches, as ſhall appeare in the Narration.

The perſons of chiefeſt note in it, were Maſter HENRY PERCY, brother to the Earle of *Northumberland*, Maſter HENRY JERMIN, the great Favourite of the Queene, to whom he was Maſter of the horſe, Maſter GORING, eldeſt Sonne to the Lord GORING, Maſter WILMOT, eldeſt Sonne to the Lord WILMOT, Colonell ASHBURNHAM, Captaine POLLARD, Sir JOHN SUCKLING, ONEALE an Iriſh man and a Papiſt, with divers others of a more inferiour ranke, ſuch as were privy but to ſome part of the deſigne: For it ſeemes their Counſells were divided, and they not all guilty of the ſame things, as by their ſeverall Examinations upon Oath appeared.

But that which grieved the hearts of honeſt men, and made them almoſt deſpaire of that happineſſe which was before hoped for by this Parliament, was, That they diſcovered the King himſelf to be privy to this conſpiracy againſt them; which was plainly teſtified by Colonell *Gorings* examination; as likewiſe by a Letter Written by Maſter PERCY to his Brother the Earle of *Northumberland*; where he names the Kings diſcourſes with him, and the deſire which the King had to joyne ſuch as he thought fit with them.

The Conſpirators had taken an Oath of ſecrecy among themſelves.

The Report made in Parliament from Committees after the Examination of ſeverall Gentlemen, concerning this conſpiracy, diſcovered many branches of their deſigne.

One was concerning the Tower of *London*, That Souldiers ſhould have been put into it. For Sir JOHN SUCKLING, and ſome others of the Conſpirators, under pretence of raiſing Forces for the *Portugall*, had gathered men in *London*, who were to poſſeſſe themſelves of the Tower.

The Lieutenant, Sir WILLIAM BALFORE, was commanded by the King himſelfe to admit thoſe Souldiers into the Tower. But he perceiving that it was a Plot to let the Earle of *Strafford* eſcape, diſobeyed that Command of the Kings, as appeared by his Examination.

In which is likewiſe ſpecified, that the Earle offered 2000. *l.* in Marriage with his daughter to the Lieutenants Sonne, if he would conſent to the Earles eſcape.

Another branch, and that the chiefe of this deſigne, was to bring up the Engliſh Army, which was in the North, as yet undisbanded, and to engage it againſt the Parliament, to awe the Houſes in divers things concerning the Kings Prerogative and maintaining Epiſcopacy, as Maſter PERCY ſignified in the forementioned Letter.

To joyne with theſe Forces, and ſtrengthen the Plot, a French Army was to be landed at *Portſmouth*, and that Towne for the ſame purpoſe was to be put into Maſter JERMINS hands.

The Iriſh Army, conſiſting of eight thouſand, almoſt all Papiſts, when the Earle of *Strafford* had eſcaped out of the Tower, was to be brought over under his conduct, and engaged in the ſame Service.

All theſe things were confeſſed upon ſeverall Examinations.

The Parliament were moſt grieved to finde the King ſo farre in it; and then re-called to minde, how His Majeſty on the 28. of *Aprill* before, had told the Houſes, That he could not allow of the disbanding

disbanding of the Iriſh Army for divers reaſons beſt knowne to himſelfe.

The Conſpiracy being in ſome part detected, PERCY, JERMYN, and SUCKLING fled the day before they ſhould have been examined, being the ſixth of *May*, and paſſed into *France*, where SUCKLING not long after dyed.

But afterwards, upon the reading of a Letter in the Houſe upon the 14. of *June*, ſent by Maſter PERCY out of *France* to his Brother the Earle of *Northumberland*, WILMOT, ASHBURNHAM, and POLLARD, (three Members of the Houſe of Commons, mentioned in that Letter, as privy to this Conſpiracy) were commanded to withdraw, and then called in ſeverally, examined, and committed, WILMOT to the Tower, ASHBURNHAM to the Kings Bench, and POLLARD to the *Gate-Houſe*; from whence they were not long after releaſed upon Bayle, as being found guilty, not in ſo high a degree as others were.

GORING, upon his Examination, dealt ſo cleerly with them, and ſo farre purged himſelfe from evill intentions, that he was not at all committed by the Parliament.

ONEALE, who proved moſt guilty of that part of the Conſpiracy, for bringing up the Engliſh Army againſt the Parliament, was preſently after apprehended, and committed to the Tower, whence it was generally thought he would be brought to Tryall for his life, and ſuffer; but he made an eſcape.

The Parliament conſidering what great diſturbance they began to finde in ſetling the State, what conſpiracies had been on foot; and doubtfull of the Kings ſincere affection towards them; conſidering alſo what great diſburſements of money were to be made for payment of two Armies, and other charges *for ſetling the State*, to which purpoſe money

was to be borrowed upon the Publike Faith; by a joint conſent of both Houſes, moved the King to ſigne a Bill for continuance of this preſent Parliament, That it ſhould never be diſſolved till both Houſes did conſent, and agree that publike grievances were fully redreſt.

A Bill was drawne up to that purpoſe, and the King, the ſame day that he ſigned the Bill for execution of the Earle of *Strafford*, being the 10. of *May*, 1641. ſigned that alſo for continuance of the preſent Parliament.

But in this place it is fit to inſert what had paſt before in this kinde.

The King upon the 15. of *February* before, had ſigned a Bill, preſented to him by both Houſes, for a Parliament to be held in *England* every third yeare; That the Lord Keeper, and Chancellor of the Dutchy, for the time being, ſhould be ſworne to iſſue forth the Writs, and upon default to loſe their places.

The ſame day in the afternoone there was a Conference betweene the two Houſes, to returne the King thankes; upon which it was concluded that the whole Houſe ſhould go to the King to *White-Hall*, and that the Lord Keeper, in the name of both Houſes, ſhould returne their thankfulneſſe to his Majeſty, which was accordingly done.

Expreſſions of joy, by Order from the Parliament, were that night made about *London*, with ringing of Bells, making of Bonefires, with ſuch uſuall things.

It is obſervable in the courſe of Hiſtories, how much Kings in ſuch limited Monarchies as that of *England*, do in time by degrees gaine upon the peoples Rights and Priviledges. That thoſe things, which by conſtitution of the Government, the people may challenge as due from the Prince, having been long forborne, become at laſt to be eſteemed ſuch Acts of

of extraordinary grace, as that the Prince is highly thanked for granting of them.

Such was the caſe of this Trienniall Parliament, as both Houſes afterward, when the unhappy diviſion began, and the King upbraided them with this favour, could plainly anſwer, That it was not ſo much as by Law they might require, there being two Statutes then in force, for a Parliament once a yeere.

The King himſelfe alſo at the time when he granted that Trienniall Parliament, could not forbeare to tell them, That he put an obligation upon them in doing it, which they had ſcarſe deſerved.

For hitherto (ſaid he) *to ſpeake freely, I have had no great incouragement to grant it, if I ſhould looke to the outward face of your actions or proceedings, and not to the inward intentions of your hearts, I might make queſtion of doing it.*

But that Grant which rhe King ſince paſſed upon the tenth of *May*, for continuance of the preſent Parliament, not onely afterward by himſelfe was much upbraided to them, but by many Genrlemen, who were not well affected to their Parliament, and all the Faction of Prelaticall Clergy, in their ordinary diſcourſe, was cenſured a greater grace then was fit for the King to grant.

To ſuch men, their diſcourſes and writings, afterward, when the great diſtraction happened, and the Warre was breaking out, the Parliament in many of their Declarations anſwered:

That though there were in it ſome ſeeming reſtraint of the Regall Power in diſſolving Parliaments; yet really it was no taking that Power from the Crowne, but ſuſſpending the execution of it for this time and occaſion only. Which was ſo neceſſary for the Publike Peace, that without it they could not have undertaken any of thoſe great Charges; but muſt have left both the Armies to diſorder and confuſion, and the whole Kingdome to blood and ruine.

For

For to pay the Armies, and defray other neceſſary charges, money was to be borrowed upon the Publike Faith; which had been nothing worth, if that Parliament could have been diſſolved at the Kings pleaſure.

And where it was objected, That no King ever granted the like before; they anſwered, It was evident, that no King before ever made ſo great a neceſſity for a Parliament to require it. And beſides that, in the conſtitution of *Englands* Government, it was never the meaning of the Law-givers, that the King ſhould diſſolve any Parliament, whileſt the great Affaires of the Kingdome were depending; and though the King had uſed to do ſo, it was nevertheleſſe unlawfull.

The Scots in their Remonſtrance 1640. told the King, That he had broken their Lawes in diſſolving the Parliament there, againſt the conſent of their Houſe.

And it is very well underſtood by thoſe that are skilfull in Lawes of both Nations, that Engliſh Parliaments have originally the ſame freedome.

It was nevertheleſſe probably then thought by all, that the King would not have aſſented to that Act, if at that time the freſhneſſe of thoſe fore-mentioned grievances in the peoples hearts, and the preſent diſcovery of that odious Treaſon, of bringing an Army againſt the Parliament, had not made it unſafe for him to deny.

That opinion was more confirmed by the following Actions, ſince time, and the unconſtancy of ſome Lords and Gentlemen, had raiſed him a Party. When that knot, which by Law he could not againe untie, he indeavoured to cut a ſunder by the Sword; as was afterwards obſerved in the Parliaments Declarations.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Allowance of money from the Engliſh Parliament to the Scots. The vaſt Charge of diſbanding the two Armies. The great Taxations for that purpoſe, and the manner of Poll money. *The people take a* Proteſtation. *An Act for putting downe the High Commiſſion Court, and Starre-Chamber; with other occurrences of that time. The Queene Mother departeth* England. *The King goeth into* Scotland.

THe Parliament, conceiving themſelves ſomewhat ſtrengthened and ſecured by by that Act of continuance, began to fall upon the maine buſineſſe of the Kingdome; but their firſt deſire was to eaſe themſelves of that unſupportable charge of keeping two Armies in pay. It was therefore reſolved, that both the Armies ſhould forthwith be diſbanded.

The Earle of *Holland* was nominated by the King, and well approved of by the Parliament, to go down as Generall, for disbanding of the Engliſh. And for the ſpeedy diſburſement of ſo great a ſumme, which was to be raiſed out of the Poll-Money (of which I ſhall ſpeake anon) and the ſix Subſidies; much Plate was appointed with more then ordinary haſte to be melted and coyned.

The Reader will here perchance deſire to be ſatisfied, by what meanes the Scottiſh Army, which the King in the beginning of the Parliament, was ſo de-

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ſirous to have driven out of the Kingdome, and ſtiled Rebells, ſhould continue undisbanded till this time.

The Ceſſation of Armes, which was made before, to expire about the end of *December* laſt, was at that time renewed by the Parliament for a Moneth longer; who preſently after tooke it into conſideration, that the Scots ſhould be ſatisfied for all their charges they had been at, and loſſes ſuſtained ſince that unhappy Warre that the King had raiſed againſt them.

In the *February* following, after a ſerious debate concerning that buſineſſe, the neceſſities of the Scots being well weighed, and their demands conſidered, it was not onely agreed that their Ships, taken ſince that Warre, ſhould be reſtored, and 4000. *l.* in ready money given to them to rigge thoſe Ships; but for the maine of all, it was reſolved upon by both Houſes, to give the full ſumme of 300000. *l.* in theſe words expreſſed, *Towards a ſupply of the loſſes and neceſſities of our Brethren of Scotland*; and that the Parliament would in due time take into conſideration the manner of raiſing, and daies of payment.

Whereupon the Scottiſh Commiſſioners three daies after returned thankfulneſſe to the Parliament, not onely for that great ſumme of 300000. *l.* but for the ſtile of Brethren which they had given them.

And the ſame weeke, to continue, and further ſtrengthen the amity of both Nations, the Parliament of *England* Ordained that all Books, Libels, and Proclamations againſt the Scots, ſhould be called in; and a thankſgiving to God ſhould be in all Churches thorow *England*, for the happy concluſion of that peace.

But before the time came that the Parliament, preſſed with ſo many great and weighty Affaires, could have leiſure to conſider and fully determine the times for payment of that great ſumme to the Scots (which was not till the 19. day of the following *June*, when

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it was concluded, that they ſhould receive 100000 *l.* of it at Midſomer come twelve Moneth, and the other 200000. *l.* at Midſomer two yeares after) the Scots preſented many Papers to the Houſe at ſeverall times, for money to ſupply the wants of their Army, which were friendly entertained, and conſidered by the Parliament; for that Army was kept long undiſbanded; inſomuch as about the end of the following *May*, there was in Arreare due to the Scottiſh Army (beſides the gift of 300000 *l*) 120000. *l.*

So great a charge was the Parliament of *England* content to be at, rather then ſuffer the Scots to go, till buſineſſes were better ſetled; which gave occaſion to many of the Clergy, and others not well affected to them, not onely in diſcourſe, but written Libels, to taxe the Parliament, and impute it to them as a crime of too much diſtruſt of the King; and that they kept a forraigne Army to awe their owne Prince.

But certaine it is, that ſince that time when the forenamed Conſpiracies began to breake out, the Houſes, not well aſſured of the King, nor fully truſting the Engliſh Army, were content that the Scots ſhould not be disbanded, untill the other were; being alſo doubtfull of that Iriſh Army, which the King (as is before expreſſed) had told them he could not diſband, for ſome reaſons beſt knowne to himſelfe.

Nor was that Army of Scots disbanded till *Auguſt*, at the ſame time when the Engliſh Army was, by the Earle of *Holland*, appointed Generall to that purpoſe. And both the Armies quietly departed, conducted to their owne homes by Order from Juſtices of Peace, through the ſeverall Counties.

To defray ſo vaſt a charge as the payment of two great Armies, the Parliament, beſides the grant of ſix Subſidies, impoſed a Taxe ſeldome or never knowne, which was that of the Poll-Money, wherein the whole Kingdome were to be perſonally aſſeſſed. Every Duke at 100 *l.* a Marqueſſe at 80 *l.*

Earles at 60 *l.* Viſcounts and Barons at 40 *l.* Knights of the Bathe 30 *l.* other Knights 20 *l.* Eſquires 10 *l.* every Gentleman diſpending 100 *l. per annum*, was ſeized at 5 *l.* and all others of ability to pay a competent proportion; the meaneſt head of the whole Kingdome was not excuſed under ſix pence.

This Bill of Poll-Money was offered by the Houſes to the King, together with two other of great concernment, one for putting downe the High Commiſſion Court, and the other for putting downe the Starre-Chamber.

But the King ſhewed ſome reluctancy in that buſineſſe, deſiring to paſſe only that Bill of Poll-Money for the preſent, and to deliberate about paſſing of the other two. At which the Houſe of Commons, being certified ſo much by the Lords, were not well contented, and voted that his Majeſty ſhould paſſe all three, or none at all.

Notwithſtanding, the King upon the ſecond of *July*, did accordingly paſſe the Poll-Money, and demurred upon the other two. But underſtanding that the matter was ſo ill taken, and loath, upon mature deliberation, to diſpleaſe the Kingdome at that time, he came againe upon the following Tueſday, being the fifth of *July*, and paſſed the other two, for putting downe the High Commiſſion and Starre-Chamber.

Many of the Courtiers, and neereſt ſervants about the King, were very ſorry that his Majeſty, ſeeing that he paſſed thoſe two Bills ſo ſoone after, had not freely done it at the ſame time (as was deſired) together with the Poll-Money: Becauſe it might be thought an unwillingneſſe in him, and that his heart (which was then feared) did not perfectly concurre with his Peoples deſires: Whereby much of the thanks, which ſo great a grace freely and forwardly expreſſed, might have deſerved, did ſeeme in a manner loſt.

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The King therefore at the paſſing of thoſe two Bills, told them as much, That *He could not but be ſenſible of thoſe reports of diſcontent, which he had heard was taken by ſome, for his not paſſing them before; and thought it very ſtrange, that two things of ſo great importance, ſhould be expected from him, without an allowance of time to conſider of them: That he wondred they could harbour any diſcontent, if they remembred how much he had done this Parliament, as his granting that the Judges hereafter ſhould hold their places* quam diù ſe benè geſſerint; *bounding the Forreſt Lawes; taking away Ship-money; eſtabliſhing the Subjects property in Tonnage and Poundage; granting the Trienniall Parliament; free Juſtice againſt Delinquents.* With other things; Concluding graciouſly, That He would omit nothing which might give them juſt content.

And when he had ſigned the forenamed Bills, after a ſhort mention of the journey which he intended ſpeedily to take into *Scotland*; he propounded to them a thing very acceptable, concerning his Nephew the Prince Elector Palatine, that he could not but (at the deſire of that Prince) ſend an Ambaſſadour to aſſiſt him at the Dyet at *Ratisbone* with the Emperour; and fearing that he ſhould not receive ſo good an Anſwer, as might in juſtice be expected. For the better countenancing that buſineſſe, he intended to publiſh a *Manifeſto* in his owne name, but would not do it but by conſent and advice of Parliament; without which he conceived it would be a thing of no validity.

Which Manifeſto was afterwards made by the full conſent of both Houſes, and Sir THOMAS ROE, a Member of the Houſe, and a Gentleman of great abilities, was ſent to the Emperour at *Ratisbone* about it, but without any good ſucceſſe.

At the ſame time the Queene Mother of *France*, as was before deſired by the Parliament, was to take

her leave of *England*. The King conſented to her departure; but Money wanting for the Proviſion of her Journey, the Parliament allotted ten thouſand pounds to her, out of the Poll-Money. This great Lady had arrived in *England* almoſt three yeares before, and ſo long been entertained by the King, her Sonne in Law, with great reſpect, and an allowance anſwerable to ſupport her State, 100. *l. per diem.*

It was her miſ-fortune, (how farre her crime I cannot tell) that during her abode here, the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland* were imbroyled in great troubles; which the People were apt to impute in ſome meaſure to her counſels, knowing what power the Queene her Daughter had with the King.

Others taxed her not at all, but looked upon other cauſes, the ſame counſells, which long before her arrivall had diſtempered *England*; but the people made their judgement upon it, from her actions or ſucceſſes in other places.

But however it were, the Queene was fearefull of the people here, and had not long before deſired to have a guard allowed her, pretending feare of her life, by reaſon of ſome attempts, which ſhe conceived made againſt her; upon which a Guard was ſet about her houſe.

Her Regency in *France* had not beene happy, nor according to the intereſt of that Kingdome; though that, perchance, may be accounted a fault not ſo particular to her, as commonly incident to the Regency of Queene Mothers in that Land: In ſo much as THUANUS commends the ſaying of CHARLES the ninth (a Prince whom otherwiſe he doth not praiſe) upon his death bed, *That ſince he muſt dye at that age*, (being foure and twenty) *he thanked God he had no Sonne, leaſt* France *ſhould fall under a Regency, of which he had found the ſad effects.* His Mother was KATHERINE DE MEDICIS of the ſame Family with this Queene.

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After the time of her Regency, her actions had been ſuch, that the King her Sonne would not harbour her in his owne Kingdome; nor was ſhe welcome into the Territories of her Sonne in Law the King of *Spaine*. But the people there were no leſſe deſirous of her departure, then afterward in *England*.

Inſomuch as ſhe became a ſtrange example of the inſtability of humane fortunes, that ſo great a Queen, and Mother to ſo many mighty Princes, ſhould want a quiet Harbour for her age.

Not long after her departure from *England*, ſhe died at *Culleine*, and might ſeeme a parallel in ſome things, to the ſame Empreſſe, who founded that City, and there planted a Roman Colony, AGRIPINA, wife to CLAUDIUS CESAR, and Mother to NERO. They both had taſted of power, been active in it, but not pleaſing to the people. They were both taught, that the greatneſſe of their Sonnes, was not ſo much advantage to their Power, as they had hoped; and had learned, that all power dependent upon another, is of ſmall validity, and leſſe ſtability; as TACITUS obſerves, ſpeaking of the ſame AGRIPINA, *Nihil rerum mortalium tam inſtabile, & fluxum eſt, quam fama potentiæ non ſua vi nixa.*

About two Moneths before the departure of this Queene, the Princeſſe MARY, eldeſt daughter to the King, not yet ten yeares of age, was married with great triumph at *White-Hall*, to the young Prince of *Orange*, WILLIAM; Biſhop WRENNE, being then Deane of the Kings Chappell, performed the ſolemnity on Sunday the ſecond of *May*, 1641.

The Marriage had been before debated of in Parliament, and conſented to; The King himſelfe upon the ninth of *February* having declared to the Lords what large Propoſitions the Ambaſſadours of the States had made to him upon that purpoſe.

The people in generall were pleaſed with this Marriage, and glad the King had choſen out a Proteſtant

teſtant Prince, and ſervant to a State, which had beene long confederate with *England*, and whoſe intereſt carried them the ſame way, Profeſſors of the ſame Religion, and in that kinde of Diſcipline, to which the greateſt part of Parliament and People were inclined; and hoped (though at that time it was not ſo fully declared as afterward) to reforme the Church of *England* to, as that of *Scotland* already was. By this Match of the Kings owne chuſing, they began to hope that the Spaniſh Faction in Court was not now at all prevalent, but that things might hereafter be carried according to the right Engliſh way.

In this hope they were the more confirmed, ſeeing the Parliament go on without any oppoſition from the King, no diſſention having yet happened, nor likely to happen, as they conceived; for that Conſpiracy of bringing up the Army againſt the Parliament, which we touched before, was not yet diſcovered, nor at all thought of, though within few daies after it broke out.

But ſome there were, who ſuſpended their joy, and were not much confident that this Marriage would bring happineſſe to *England*, unleſſe the King were perfectly right with his People, and wiſhed the ſame thing they did; conſidering at one ſide the condition of the Prince of *Orange*, and that he might be ambitious of more then was due to him; and for that reaſon ingage himſelfe in a reciprocall way for the King againſt his People, if occaſion ſerved.

On the other ſide, they conſidered the States as Polititians of this world, and men who had other intereſts then that of Religion; and if diſſention ſhould in *England* happen, betweene Prince and People (which was never but feared in ſome degree) might be apt to ſide with the King againſt the juſt freedome of the Subject; which muſt needs depreſſe the ſtrength of *England*, and keepe it from ſo much greatneſſe, as might ecclipſe their owne; the King of

of *Spaine* being now weake, and no ſuch feare from him, as might inforce them to need *Englands* ſtrength as heretofore.

But the Parliament about the beginning of this *July*, were buſied in ſuch a multiplicity of Affaires, which by ſeverall Committees they daily did, concerning the reformation of domeſticall abuſes, that it were an endleſſe, and indeed an improper thing for an Hiſtorian to deſcribe them all: The Records will at large ſatisfie thoſe that are curious in particulars; onely ſome of the chiefe I will briefly touch which happened before the King went into *Scotland*.

Upon the fifth of *July*, 1641. the Committee appointed for that purpoſe, made their report to the Houſe of Commons, of the Charge againſt MATTHEW WRENNE Biſhop of *Ely*, whoſe Accuſation was before mentioned, conſiſting of many Articles; which all tended to the introducing of Superſtition, and too neare approaches to the Roman Religion, as thoſe Articles will declare.

After ſome time ſpent in debate upon the Articles, it was reſolved upon the queſtion, and voted, That it was the opinion of the Houſe, That Biſhop WRENNE was unworthy and unfit to hold or exerciſe any Office or Dignity in Church or Commonwealth; And further voted, That there be a Meſſage ſent to the Lords, to deſire them to joyne with the Commons, in petitioning His Majeſty to remove the ſaid Biſhop both from his Perſon and Service.

About the ſame time alſo the Charges againſt thoſe Judges before mentioned, who gave their extrajudiciall opinions for leavying of Ship-money, being five in number, Judge BRAMSTON, Baron TREVER, Baron WESTON, Baron DAVENPORT, Judge CRAWLEY, were read in the Houſe of Commons, and ſeverall Members appointed to preſent thoſe particular Charges againſt every Judge, which they

they all did, making large Speeches in aggravation of their Crimes: Againſt Judge BERKLEY there was a higher Charge, ſo great as amounted to High Treaſon.

The King was now wholly intent upon his journey into *Scotland*, which he determined to take upon the tenth of *Auguſt*, to which both Houſes had once agreed; but afterwards upon mature conſideration, deſired the King to deferre it fourteene daies longer for divers reaſons.

That the diſtempers of the Kingdome were ſuch, as could not well be compoſed, unleſſe His Majeſty would ſtay the deſired time, there being many weighty affaires to be taken into conſideration, and no courſe yet ſet downe for the Government of the Kingdome in his abſence.

The King, notwithſtanding their often and earneſt preſſing this ſuit, was ſtedfaſt to the firſt day, alleadging that the affaires of *Scotland* did neceſſarily require his preſennce there at that time, and that he would paſſe any thing of juſt concerne before he went, and that he had to the ſame purpoſe many times deſired them to haſten their buſineſſes for him before ſuch a time.

The King accordingly upon the tenth of *Auguſt* departed out of *London* toward *Scotland*; but the ſame day before he tooke his journey, coming to the Lords Houſe, he paſſed divers Bills which the Houſes had prepared for him; ſome concerning the publike, as the Bill for Knighthood, the Bill for free making of Gunpowder and Saltpeter; and others concerning the Eſtates and affaires of private men.

He likewiſe ſigned the Commiſſion for paſſing of Bills in his abſence; the Commiſſioners appointed were the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy Seale, the Earle of *Lindſey*, the Earle of *Eſſex*, Marqueſſe *Hartford*, the Earle of *Bath*, and the Earle of *Dorſet*.

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He ſigned them alſo another Bill, whereby he made the Earle of *Eſſex* Generall of all his Forces on this ſide Trent, by which he had power to raiſe Forces in caſe of neceſſity.

But to another requeſt, which both Houſes had made to him the day before, which was, That the Earle of *Pembrooke* might be made Lord Steward, in the Earle of *Arundels* place, during his abſence, (for the Earle of *Arundell* was then going over with the Queene Mother) and that the Earle of *Salisbury* might be appointed Lord Treaſurer; he ſaid he would take further time to conſider of it.

By this time many jealouſies began to ariſe in the hearts of people, many diviſions, and differences of opinions, concerning the Parliament, which being by degrees fomented by ſuch perſons as were diſaffected to it, by reaſon of their owne loſſes, and particular intereſts, whoſe number could not be ſmall, did fatally prepare the way to that miſerable confuſion which after followed.

Biſhops had been much lifted at, though not yet taken away, whereby a great party whoſe livelihood and fortunes depended on them, and farre more, whoſe hopes of preferment looked that way; moſt of the Clergy, and both the Univerſities, began to be daily more diſ-affected to the Parliament; complaining that all rewards of learning would be taken away, which wrought deeply in the hearts of the young, and moſt ambitious of that Coat.

Another thing which ſeemed to trouble ſome, who were not bad men, was that extreame Licenſe, which the Common People, almoſt from the very beginning of the Parliament, tooke to themſelves, of reforming, without Authority, Order, or decency, rudely diſturbing Church-Service, whileſt the Common-Prayer was reading, tearing thoſe Bookes, Surplaces, and ſuch things: which the Parliament, either too much buſied in variety of affaires, or (per-

chance too much) fearing the loſſe of a conſiderable Party, whom they might have need of againſt a reall and potent Enemy, did not ſo farre reſtraine as was expected, or deſired by thoſe men.

To this were added thoſe daily reports of ridiculous Conventicles, and preachings made by Tradeſmen, and illitterate people of the loweſt ranke, to the ſcandall and offence of many: Which ſome in a merry way would put off, conſidering the precedent times, that theſe Tradeſmen did but take up that which Prelates and the great Doctors had let fall, preaching the Goſpell; That it was but a reciprocall invaſion of each others callings, that Chandlers, Salters, Weavers, and ſuch like preached, when the Archbiſhop himſelfe, inſtead of preaching, was daily buſied in Projects about Leather Salt, Sope, and ſuch commodities as belonged to thoſe Tradeſmen.

Many people by degrees grew diſ-affected to the Parliament, being daily poyſoned by the diſcourſes of the friends, kindred, and retainers to ſo many great Delinquents, as muſt needs feare ſuch a Parliament; who, though they be no conſiderable party, in reſpect of the whole Common-wealth; yet ply their particular intereſts, with more eagerneſſe then moſt do the publike.

Some are taken off by time and their owne inconſtancy, when they have looked for quicker redreſſe of grievances, then the great concurrence of ſo many weighty buſineſſes (in a long diſcontinued and reforming Parliament) can poſſibly admit, how induſtrious ſoever they be, diſtracted with ſo great a variety; thoſe people, after ſome time ſpent, grew weary againe of what before they had ſo long wiſhed to ſee; not conſidering that a Prince, if he be averſe from ſuch a Parliament, can finde power enough to retard their proceedings, and keepe off for a long time the cure of State; when that happens, the people tired with expectation of ſuch a cure, do

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uſually by degrees forget the ſharpneſſe of thoſe diſeaſes which before required it; or elſe in the redreſſing of many and long diſorders, and to ſecure them for the future, there being for the moſt part a neceſſity of laying heavy Taxes, and draining of much Money from the people, they grow extreamly ſenſible of that preſent ſmart, feeling more paine by the Cure for a time, then they did by the lingring diſeaſe before, not conſidering that the cauſes of all which they now indure, were precedent, and their preſent ſuffering is for their future ſecurity.

It was the generall opinion of all Gentlemen at that time, That a Parliament ſo much and long deſired, as this was, after ſo great and conſtant a violation of the Lawes and Liberties of *England* in the Kings former Government, could ſcarce in poſſibility ever grow into the diſlike of the people, or at leaſt ſo great a part of the people, as might be able (which within one yeare was after ſeene) to make a Warre againſt it, and indanger the utter ruine and ſubverſion of it. But I have ſpoken before of ſome cauſes, which might ſeeme ſtrong enough to ingage a part of the people againſt the Parliament; whoſe particular i n tereſts and livelihoods were neerely touched; how farre any proceeding might diſtaſte others, who were unintereſted in their private fortunes or callings, I cannot tell any certaine reaſon: But I remember within the compaſſe of a yeare after, when this Civill Warre began to breake out over all the Kingdom, and men in all companies began to vent their opinions in an argumentative way, either oppoſing or defending the Parliament Cauſe; and Treatiſes were printed on both ſides: Many Gentlemen who forſooke the Parliament, were very bitter againſt it for the proceedings in Religion, in countenancing, or not ſuppreſſing, the rudeneſſe of people in Churches (which I related before) acting thoſe things which ſeemed to be againſt the Diſcipline of the Engliſh Church,

and might introduce all kindes of Sects and Schiſmes. Neither did thoſe of the Parliament ſide agree in opinions concerning that point; ſome ſaid it was wiſely done of the Parliament, not to proceed againſt any ſuch perſons, for feare of loſing a conſiderable party, as is ſaid before. Others thought and ſaid, That by ſo doing they would loſe a farre more conſiderable party of Gentlemen, then could be gained of the other. They alſo affirmed, That Lawes and Liberties having been ſo much violated by the King, if the Parliament had not ſo farre drawne Religion alſo into their cauſe, it might have ſped better; for the Parliament frequently at that time, in all their expreſſions, whenſoever they charged the corrupt Stateſmen of injuſtice and Tyranny, would put Popery, or a ſuſpition of it, into the firſt place againſt them. I remember, when the Warre was begun, among thoſe little Treatiſes, which were then publiſhed, as many there were without any names to them, I found one, in which the caſe is thus expreſſed, to recite the words of it. *Perchance* (ſaith he) *too much inſiſting upon Religion, and taxing the King for affecting Popery, hath by accident weakened the Parliament, and brought Parties to the King. It may ſeeme a great Paradox that the beſt and onely neceſſary of all things, Religion, being added into the ſcale of Lawes and Liberties, ſhould make the ſcale lighter then before. Neither can it be true but by accident; as thus: The ſtrange intercourſe betwixt* Rome *and the Engliſh Court; The Kings owne Letters to the Pope; His favouring of Prieſts, and ſuch things; though they may give a State juſt cauſe of ſuſſpition, that their Religion is undermining: Yet becauſe it cannot be ſo abſolutely proved to the ſight of all the people, that the King favoured Popery, as that he violated the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome; which latter was viſible to all; the former, concerning Religion, remaines in the peoples reaſon, as a controverted queſtion (the King ſtill proteſting for Religion) and the diſputes*

diſputes about that amuſing the People, make them by degrees forget that crime of the Kings, which was without controverſie, and evident, the violation of Lawes and Liberties: And more then ſo; for ſome ſuppoſing that the Parliament unjuſtly taxed him in Religion, did in time believe, that he was not ſo guilty of the other, as they would make him; which I have heard ſome of late maintaine. From whence may follow a ſtrange concluſion; That the Kings dealing ſo much with Rome, *to the diſadvantage of the Proteſtant Religion, ſhould now turne to his owne advantage in a Proteſtant Kingdome. And we may make this as paradoxicall a ſuppoſition, That if the King had never done any thing prejudiciall to the Proteſtant Religion, he would have found fewer Proteſtants this Parliament to take his part. For then, there being no diſpute at all about Religion, the crimes of his State miſ-government had plainly and inexcuſably appeared to all; as we have ſeene that ſome of our former Kings, for the like violation of Lawes and Liberties, when there was but one Religion, and therefore no diſpute about it, have been heavily cenſured in Parliament, no man appearing in their juſtification. And why ſhould not a Parliament thinke that ſuch things are cauſe enough to be ſtood upon, and to juſtifie their quarrell before God? as if the Almighty did not abhorre Injuſtice, Oppreſſion, Tyranny, and the like, in any Kingdome, unleſſe the profeſſion of Religion were alſo depraved. Nay, he abhorreth it more in that place where the pureſt profeſſion of Religion is.*

Beſides, that frequent naming of Religion, as if it were the onely quarrell, hath cauſed a great miſtake of the queſtion in ſome, by reaſon of ignorance, in others of ſubtilty; whileſt they wilfully miſtake, to abuſe the Parliaments Cauſe, writing whole Volumes in a wrong ſtated caſe; as, inſtead of diſputing whether the Parliament of England *lawfully aſſembled, where the King virtually is, may by Armes defend the Religion eſtabliſhed by the ſame power, together with the Lawes and Liber-*

ties of the Nation, againſt Delinquents, detaining with them the Kings ſeduced Perſon: They make it the queſtion, Whether Subjects, taken in a generall notion, may make Warre againſt their King for Religions ſake?

Such was the ſenſe of many Gentlemen at that time, which adhered to the Parliament. But to proceed in the Narration.

The Parliament had been of late ſenſible of the loſſe of ſome from them, and having detected divers Conſpiracies and Machinations of diſ-affected people againſt them, and fearing more, had in *May* laſt framed a Proteſtation, which was ſolemnly taken by all the Members of both Houſes, and ſent thorow *England* to be taken by the people; the forme of it was in theſe words:

I *A. B. in the preſence of Almighty God, promiſe, vow, and proteſt, to maintaine and defend, as farre as lawfully I may, with my life, power, and eſtate, the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of* England, *againſt all Popery and Popiſh Innovotions within this Realme, contrary to the ſaid Doctrine; and according to the duty of my Allegiance, I will maintaine and defend his Majeſties Royall Perſon, Honour and Eſtate, as alſo the Power and Priviledge of Parliaments, the lawfull Rights and Liberties of the Subjects, and every Perſon that ſhall make this Proteſtation, in whatſoever he ſhall do in the lawfull purſuance of the ſame; and to my power, as farre as lawfully I may, I will oppoſe, and by all good waies and means endeavour to bring condigne puniſhment on all ſuch as ſhall by force, practiſe, counſels, plots, conſpiracies or otherwiſe, do any thing to the contrary, in this preſent Proteſtation contained: And further, That I ſhall in all juſt and honourable waies, indeavour to preſerve the union and peace betwixt the three Kingdomes of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and neither for hope, feare, or any other reſpects, ſhall relinquiſh this Promiſe, Vow, and Proteſtation.*

It

It were not amiſſe in this place briefly to mention ſome alterations, which had been made before the time that the King tooke his journey into *Scotland*; though they were not done immediately about that time, but ſome weekes or Moneths before, becauſe they concerne ſome Noble men, of whom we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to make mention in the courſe of this Hiſtory.

The Lord COTTINGTON upon the 17. of *May*, 1641. had reſigned his place, Maſter of the Wards, the Lord Viſcount SAY and SEALE ſucceeded him in that Office.

Within few daies after the Lord Treaſurer, Doctor JUCKSON Biſhop of *London*, reſigned his Staffe, and the Office was committed to five Commiſſioners. About that time the Earle of *Leiceſter*, lately come from being Ambaſſadour in *France*, was by the King made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Earle of *Newcaſtle* was removed from being Governour to the Prince, and the Marqueſſe of *Hartford* appointed in his roome.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.

The Second Book.

CHAP. I.

A Standing Committee during the Receſſe of both Houſes of Parliament. The Rebellion of the Iriſh, and Maſſacre of the Proteſtants there. Some endeavours of the Engliſh Parliament for relief of that Kingdom.

THE buſineſſe of *England* by this abſence of the King was at a great ſtand. In ſuch a concurrence of high affairs & ſo great an expectation to find redreſs of preſſing Grievances, nothing was ſo irkſome to the People as delay. To retard the cure, was little

better then to deſtroy. And the Sequel within a ſhort time, proved worſe, then the wiſeſt men could imagine, or the moſt jealous poſſibly ſuſpect; though jealouſies and fears were then grown to a great height, & the Parliament of *England* leſs then ever, aſſured of the Kings real affection to them. Nothing of State was tranſacted in Parliament, during the Kings abſence. Some debates there were only about Church-ſervice, and alterations to be made in the Book of Common-prayer, in which notwithſtanding nothing was concluded. One buſineſſe only came to be diſcuſſed; of which the King himſelf gave occaſion; who within few daies after his arrival in *Scotland*, ſignified by a Letter to the Lords, That he was engaged to the Spaniard by promiſe to let him have four thouſand ſouldiers out of that lately disbanded Iriſh Army, which the Earle of *Strafford* had before raiſed; his deſire was to make good his promiſe by conſent of Parliament. But the Houſe of Commons whom the Lords had invited to a Conference for that purpoſe, would not conſent that any Iriſh ſhould go to aſſiſt the Spaniard; ſome reaſons were then given, but more particular cauſe was ſhewed about ten daies after, when a ſecond Letter came from the King, in which his Majeſty declared, That the Spaniſh Ambaſſador claimed his promiſe, from which in honor he could not recede. Notwithſtanding ſince he had found that Ambaſſador ſo reaſonable, as that he was content to accept of two thouſand; he hoped the Parliamnnt would not deny that. The Houſe took it into conſideration; and within two dayes, the Lord of FAWKLAND a Member of the Houſe of Commons at a conference delivered to the Lords, gave reaſons in the name of that Houſe, why it was very unfit to grant the Kings deſire, becauſe the Spaniard was not only an Ally, & confederate, but an aſſiſtant to the Emperor againſt the Prince

Prince Elector, his Majesties Nephew; who by the power and oppression of that Emperor had bin long deprived of his inheritance; And at this time, when the King had published a Manifesto in behalf of his Nephew, and to that purpose sent an Ambassador to the Dyet of *Ratisbone*, it would seem a contradiction in the King to assist the Enemies of the said Prince Elector, and a drawing of his own Sword against himself: besides the great prejudice it must needs bring to the Protestant cause, which this present Parliament so much intended, and laboured to promote. Upon these reasons it was thought fit not to consent to the Kings desire in that point. And immediately the two Houses of Parliament rejourned themselves from that day, being the eighth of *September*, till the twentieth of *October*, and appointed a standing Committee of fifty Members during that recesse.

Before the Accesse and meeting again of the Parliament, Letters came from the English Committee in *Scotland*, and were read before that standing Committee of *Westminster*, importing the discovery of a Treasonable plot against the lives of Marquesse HAMILTON, and others, the greatest Peeres of *Scotland*; the conspirators being the Earle of *Crayford*, and some others. How it was discovered, or how prevented, or whether the King had any privity to it (though one of that country have since written very plainly charging the King with it) because the State of *Scotland* were very silent in it, the Parliament of *England* took the lesse notice of it: Only the standing Committee, for avoiding the like attempts at *London*, and fearing that such might flow from the same spring, appointed strong guards to be placed in many parts of the City, till further directions might be given from the two Houses at their Accesse. The malignancy, which at that time began to appear in people,

of that condition and quality, which wee before mentioned, and was not only expreſſed in uſual diſcourſe among their companions, but vented in ſcurrilous and bitter Libels againſt thoſe Lords and Commons, who were generally reputed the moſt Sedulous for the common-wealth, was cauſe ſufficient to increaſe the feares and jealouſies of the Parliament.

But that fatall fire, which ſo ſadly waſted the three Kingdoms, broke out there, where it was leaſt feared; and thoſe that ſeemed moſt ſecure, were the firſt ſufferers. About the end of *October* 1641 during the Kings abode in *Scotland*, the moſt barbarous and bloudy Rebellion that ever any age, or Nation were guilty of, broke out in *Ireland*. The atrocity of it is without a paralell, and as full of wonder was the cloſe carriage of ſo black and far-reaching a Deſigne. The innocent Proteſtants were upon a ſuddain diſſeiſed of their Eſtates, and the perſons of above two hundred thouſand men, women, and children murthered, many of them with exquiſite and unheard of tortures, within the ſpace of one month.

That which increaſed the amazement of moſt men, was, The conſideration that the ancient hatred, which the Iriſh (a thing incident to conquer'd Nations) had borne to the Engliſh, did now ſeeme to be quite buried and forgotten; forty years of peace had compacted thoſe two Nations into one body, and cemented them together by all conjunctures of alliance, intermarriages, and conſanguinity, which was in outward appearance ſtrengthned by frequent entertainments, and all kinds of friendly neighbourhood. There ſeemed in many places a mutuall tranſmigration (as was obſerved by a noble Gentleman, whoſe place in that Kingdom gave him means to know it, out of whoſe faithfull relation of that Rebellion and Maſſacre, I have partly

Sir *Joh. Temple.*

partly collected my diſcourſe of it) into each others manners. *Many Engliſh ſtrangely degenerating into the Iriſh manners & cuſtomes; and many Iriſh, eſpecially of the better ſort, having taken up the Engliſh language, apparel, and decency of living in their private houſes.* The preſent Government was full of lenity and moderation; and ſome redreſſe of former grievances had then been newly granted by the King to his Iriſh ſubjects; The ſame Gentleman in his Hiſtory of the Iriſh Rebellion (where the Reader may more fully enforme himſelf of particulars) affirms, that he could never hear of any one Engliſhman that received any certain notice of this conſpiracy, till that very evening before which it was to be put in execution. Some intimations had been given by Sir WILLIAM COLE in a Letter to the Lords Juſtices Sir WILLIAM PARSONS, and Sir JOHN BURLACE, with the reſt of the Councell, concerning dangerous reſorts, and meetings of ſome perſons who were judged fit inſtruments for ſuch a miſchief.

This horrid plot contrived with ſo much ſecrecy was to take effect upon the 23 of *October*. The Caſtle of *Dublin*, the chief ſtrength of that Kingdome, and principall Magazine of the Kings Armes and Ammunition, where all thoſe Armes which were taken from the late disbanded Iriſh Army, and others which the Earl of *Strafford* had provided, were depoſited, was to be ſeized by nine of the clock that day by the Rebels; to which purpoſe many of the Iriſh Gentry of great quality were the night before come to *Dublin*, to be in readineſſe for the performing of that exploit. It was further agreed among thoſe conſpirators, that upon the ſame day, all other his Majeſties Forts and Magazines of Armes and Ammunition in that Kingdom ſhould be ſurprized, and all Proteſtants and Engliſh that would not joyn with them, ſhould be

be cut off. But it pleaſed God to prevent the ſeiſure of that Caſtle, and ſo to ſave the Kingdom from being wholly loſt in one day, and that by a means ſtrange and unexpected. HUGH MAC MAHON Eſquire, grand-ſon to the famous Rebel TYRONE, a Gentleman of a plentifull fortune in the county of *Monagan*, and one that had ſerved in Armes under the King of *Spain* as Leiutenant Colonel, a principal Agent in this Rebellion, and coming with others (as aforeſaid) into *Dublin* the day before that great Deſigne was to be put in execution, being the 22 of *October*, admitted into his company at a Tavern in that City, one OWEN CONALLY, of Iriſh extract, but a proteſtant, and ſervant to Sir JOHN CLOTWORTHY a Member of the Engliſh Parliament. To this OWEN he revealed ſo much, as they were drinking, that the honeſt man eſcaping from him, though not without great danger to himſelf, at the preſent, informed the Lord Juſtice PARSONS that night about nine of the clock, of a dangerous Deſigne upon the whole Kingdom; which being taken into preſent conſideration, MAC MAHON was apprehended, and after his examination, the Lord MAQUIRE alſo, another principal actor; who were both committed to cloſe cuſtody, and the Caſtle ſecured with all diligence. But many conſpirators of great note eſcaped that night out of *Dublin*, as BIRNE, MORE, PLUNKET, and others.

The Lords of the Counſel, amazed at the diſcovery of ſo horrid a Treaſon, did notwithſtanding endeavour (ſince there was no prevention; for MAC MAHON had plainly told them, when he was examined, that by that time all the counties of *Ireland* were riſen) to uſe the beſt remedies to that deſperate diſeaſe; and hoping that perchance the news how the plot for ſeizing of *Dublin* caſtle was diſappointed, might ſomewhat diſhearten

ten the conſpirators in remote parts, and encourage the good Subjects, with more confidence to ſtand upon their guard; iſſued forth a Proclamation preſently, and by carefull meſſengers ſpread it into as many parts of the Kingdom as they could. The effect of which proclamation was to ſignifie the diſcovery of the Treaſon, and exhort all men to their duty in ſuppreſſing of it.

But the generall Deſigne was paſt prevention; and that very day came in ſome poor Engliſh proteſtants, and others in a ſhort time, every day, and almoſt every hour; ſhewing how they had been robbed, their houſes ſurpriſed by the Rebels, whoſe outrage daily increaſed in rapine and murdering, and fireing Towns and Villages in divers counties. To oppoſe therefore the growth of that deſperate malady, the Lord Juſtices (diſpatching Letters to the King in *Scotland*, and the Earle of *Leiceſter*, lately made Lieutenant of *Ireland* by the King, and yet reſident at *London*, of their lamentable condition) examined with all diligence how they were provided for ſuch a War. They found in *Dublin* Stores, Armes for ten thouſand, with Artillery, Powder, Match and Lead proportionable, laid in by the late Earle of *Straſford*, though deſigned by him another way, yet reſerved by Gods providence for this ſervice. But the Officers and ſouldiers of the old ſtanding army were ſo much diſperſed into remote places of the Kingdom for the guard of other Forts; that there was ſcarſe any poſſibility of drawing a conſiderable company together to defend *Dublin*, or make head againſt the Rebels in the North. The greateſt miſcheif to the State, and advantage to the Rebels, was, That there was no Money in the Exchequer; beſides, the Kings Revenues, and Rents of Engliſh Gentlemen due for that halfe year, were either in Tenants, or Collectors hands in

in the country, and muſt unadvoidablly fall into the Rebels power; ſo that although their diſeaſe were preſent, the only means of cure was remote, which was a dependence upon ſome ſupplies from the Parliament of *England*.

Upon the very day deſigned for ſurpriſall of the Caſtle at *Dublin*, the 23 of *October*, the Northren Rebels broke out in the Province of *Ulſter*, and in few dayes got poſſeſſion of ſo many Towns, Forts, and Gentlemens Houſes, within the counties of that Province, as might ſeeme almoſt incredible, if we conſider only the cheif actors, men of no great skill in Martiall affairs, or any policy: ſuch as Sir PHELIM ONEALE, and his Brother, with the reſt; and not rather (which indeed was the true reaſon) the generall engagements of the Iriſh, and their deep diſſimulation, concurring with the great credulity of the Engliſh, upon the cauſes aforementioned, of ſo long intermixed cohabitation, and friendly Relations betwixt them. Both theſe were the cauſes which afterward encreaſed the Maſſacre of the Engliſh, who when the fire brake out, implored the friendſhip of their Iriſh neighbors, Landlords, or Tenants; committing into their hands and protection their treaſure, wives and children, with all that was dear unto them, in hope that former friendſhip might prevail. But they generally either betrayed them into the power of other Rebels, or perfidiouſly, and cruelly murdered them with their own hands: which extreme falſhood, and cruelty in the Iriſh was thought to be much encreaſed by the charmings of their Prieſts, who told them, That it was a mortall ſin to protect, or releive any of the Engliſh.

That intermixture of the Nations, did alſo at this ſad time, make the Engliſh leſſe able to defend themſelves, then if they had lived ſingly by parties of their own. For where the Engliſh were able

able to make any head, or ſtand upon their guard (though in ſuch an amazement and ſuddain ſurpriſal) they defended themſelves beyond beleif, till the Iriſh (principled by their Preiſts) offered them fair Quarter; with aſſurance of lives and goods, ſafe conduct, and free paſſage to what places they pleaſed; confirming ſuch covenants with deep oathes, and proteſtations, and ſometimes their hands and Seales. But when they had the deceived Engliſh in their power; the Souldiers ſpoiled, ſtripped, and murdered them at their pleaſure. So were many ſerved, as at *Armagh* by Sir PHELIM ONEALE, and his Brother; at *Belterbert* by PHILIP ORELLEY; at *Longford*, *Tullough*, and other Caſtles in the County of *Fermanagh* by other of thoſe Rebels. But if the Engliſh, who ſtood to defend their private houſes, and ſo were the more eaſily cut off, could have deſerted their habitations at the firſt riſing, and joyned themſelves into bodies, they might happily have made a better reſiſtance. Whileſt theſe inhumane cruelties and Maſſacres were acting in miſerable *Ireland*, and daily ſpreading themſelves in every part of that Kingdom; many Counties in ſeveral Provinces declaring themſelves, and following the barbarous example of thoſe in *Ulſter*; the ſad newes was brought to the Parliament of *England*.

The firſt Letters, which before were mentioned, ſent from the Lords Juſtices upon the 25 of *October*, were carried, and delivered at *London* on the laſt day of that month by OWEN Ô CONALLY the happy diſcoverer of the firſt Plot; with a full information of all particulars within his knowledge: which by the Lords, who were firſt acquainted with it, was delivered at a Conference to the Houſe of Commons; who preſently ordered, *That the Houſe forthwith ſhould be reſolved into a Committe, to conſider the matter offered concerning the Rebellion in* Ireland, *as likewiſe to provide for the ſafety of* England. By

which Committee it was agreed that 50000 pound ſhould preſently be provided; and that the Loane of it ſhould be entreated from the City of *London* upon Publick ſecurity. 2 That a Select Committee of both Houſes be named to conſider the affairs of *Ireland*. 3 That OWEN Ô CONALLY, who diſcovered this great Treaſon, ſhould have 500 pound preſently paid him; and 200 pound *per annum* Penſion, till Proviſion in Land of a greater value be made for him. 4 That Papiſts of quality be ſecured in their ſeverall Counties within *England*. 5 That no perſons whatſoever, except thoſe, who are Merchants, ſhall be admitted to go over into *Ireland*, without Certificate from the Committee of both Houſes appointed for the affairs of *Ireland*.

Theſe things were reported to both Houſes, and willingly aſſented too, within two dayes after the diſcovery firſt made unto them of that Rebellion. And (notwithſtanding thoſe preſent diſtractions in *England*, which began then to appear) part of every day, during that *November*, was allotted to the conſideration of *Ireland*. Within four dayes after the beginning of which month, they ordered many particulars of great import for the releif of it, conſiſting of ſupplies of Money, Magazines of Victuals, Ammunition of all ſorts, courſes to be taken for raiſing Forces for the occaſions of that Kingdom; and ſhipping for guard of their Sea coaſts; as more particularly appeareth in the records of Parliament.

Whilſt the Engliſh Parliament were thus ordering the affaires of bleeding *Ireland*; other Letters from the Lords Juſtices bearing date the fifth of *November* were brought, and communicated to both Houſes. Who in earneſt zeal to the promotion of that buſineſſe, voted two hundred thouſand pounds to be raiſed for ſuppreſſing the Iriſh Rebellion, ſecuring *England*, and payment of the Publick debts. For which, the City of *London* muſt of neceſſity be made uſe

uſe of, (collections through the Kingdom being too ſlow for ſuch an urgency) And to encourage the City in it, an Order was made to ſecure them for monies formerly lent, and to allow them the full Intereſt of eight *per cent.* for altogether.

Whileſt the *Engliſh* Parliament were thus buſied about the releif of *Ireland*; the horrid Rebellion with a ſwift motion run throughout that unhappy Kingdom, many Counties daily joyning with them, and divers Lords and Gentlemen, who for many daies had lived unſuſpected in *Dublin*, went into the Country to ſide with the Rebels, and act their parts in thoſe inhumane outrages; the Lords Juſtices, and Privy Counſell were enough troubled to ſecure *Dublin*, to victuall the Caſtle, and prepare defence againſt thoſe dangers, which threatned the City, and were made much more by the feares of ſpoyled people reſorting thither.

But the care of the Privy Councell extended further (notwithſtanding the troubles there) then to the City of *Dublin*; and having a Magazine of Armes within the Caſtle, reſolved ſo to diſpoſe of them, as that reſiſtance might be made againſt the Rebels in other parts. Some Armes were happily diſpoſed to ſuch Gentlemen (Sir HENRY TICHBORNE, Sir CHARLES COOTE, and others, of whom more hereafter) as to their laſting honor did excellent ſervice. But another part were worſe then loſſe, thoſe which were diſtributed to the Lords and Gentlemen of the Engliſh Pale; who afterwards declared themſelves for the Rebels, and uſed the Arms to the deſtruction of thoſe, who put them into their hands. That Engliſh Pale is a large circuit of Land poſſeſſed at the firſt conqueſt of *Ireland* by the Engliſh, and ever ſince inhabited by them; containing divers Counties, as *Dublin*, *Meth*, *Lowth*, *Kildare*, *&c.*

The Lords of the Councel thought fit to truſt thoſe

Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale both with Commiſſions and Armes (though many of them profeſſed Papiſts) hoping that this great confidence would work ſo far upon their hearts, if any truth or loyalty were left there, as to keep them at leaſt, from joyning with the Enemy; but if they were honeſt, would enable them to oppoſe the threatning incurſions of the Northren Rebels. This great Truſt the Councell were more encouraged to repoſe in theſe perfidious Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale, becauſe themſelves had appeared at *Dublin* of their own accords, profeſſing truth and loyalty, with deep and ſolemne Proteſtations, and that they were moſt forward, and ready to concur with their Lordſhips in that ſervice.

But ſo great an affliction was to fall upon unhappy *Ireland*, that all thoſe Lords that were Papiſts, after they had received Commiſſions, and Armes, notwithſtanding all their deep vowes, did moſt perfidiouſly ſoon after deſert their houſes, and openly declare themſelves in actuall Rebellion: ſuch as were Viſcount MONGANNET, GORMANSTON, and COSTELOE, DILLON, BIRNE, BELLER, TALBOT, and many others.

The Condition of *Dublin* was more lamentable every day then other; and not ſo much afflicted were they with feares, and dangers, which threatned themſelves, as that extream ſorrow, which compaſſion muſt needs work in them, toward all the ſuffering Engliſh which reſorted thither. *Dublin* was the Sanctuary of all the deſpoiled Proteſtants; and by that meanes, the ſad ſtage, upon which all horror was repreſented; and what miſcheifes ſoever were acted in other parts, were there diſcovered and lamented. Their eyes were ſad witneſſes of the Rebels cruelty, in thoſe deſpoiled Engliſh which daily reſorted to the City; but their eares much more afflicted with relation of thoſe horrid tortures which

which had been uſed to thoſe who died in other parts. Their eyes could not but extremly ſuffer from ſuch wretched Spectacles as daily from all parts preſented themſelves; People of all conditions, and qualities, of every age and Sex ſpoiled, and ſtripped, with no coverings, but ragges, or twiſted ſtraw, to hide their privities; ſome wounded almoſt to death, others frozen with cold, ſome tired with travell, and ſo ſurbated that they came creeping on their knees; others famiſhed beyond all releif. And beſides the miſeries of their bodies, their minds tortured with the loſſe of all their fortunes, and ſad remembrance of their husbands, wives, or children moſt barbarouſly murdered before their faces. In this moſt lamentable plight, with waſted bodies and diſtracted mindes did they arrive at *Dublin*; ſome to be releived, ſome entombed (which was more then their murdered friends could obtaine from the Rebels) inſomuch as they appeared like walking ghoſts in every ſtreet, and all the Barnes, Stables, and out-houſes were filled with them, where they ſoon died after they had recovered the City, in ſo great numbers, that all the Church-yards of *Dublin* could not contain them: but the Lords were enforced to take in large peeces of ground on both ſides of the River, to ſet apart for burying places.

But that part of this woſull Tragedy, which was preſented to their eyes, was the leaſt, and but the ſhadow of that other, which was related to their eares, of which the Readers and all poſterity may ſhare the ſorrow. Many hundreds of thoſe which had eſcaped under their oathes, lawfully taken upon examination, and recorded with all particulars, (as may be ſeen at large in the Records) delivered to the Councell what horrid Maſſacres the bloudy villains had made of men, women, and children; and what cruell inventions they had to torture thoſe, whom they murdered; ſcarce to be equalized by any the

the moſt black, and balefull ſtory of any age.

Many thouſands of them at ſeverall places (too many to be here inſerted) after all deſpites exerciſed upon them living, put to the worſt of deaths; ſome burned on ſet purpoſe, others drowned for ſport and paſtime; and if they ſwam, kept from landing with poles, or ſhot, and murdered in the water; many were buried quick, and ſome ſet into the earth breaſt-high, and there left to famiſh. But moſt barbarous (as appears in very many examinations) was that cruelty, which was ſhewed to great bellied women; whom the villaines were not content to murder, but ripped up their bellies, and many times took delight to ſee the Hogges eate the abortive Infants. But I am loath to dwell upon ſo ſad a narration.

The greateſt part of theſe inhumane cruelties were acted by the Iriſh upon the poor unarmed Brittaines, before any provocation given unto them: and the bloud of ſo many thouſand innocent perſons ſacrificed to their meer malice, as many afterwards were ſacrificed to their revenge; as whenſoever the Iriſh received any blow from Engliſh Forces, the Engliſh Proteſtants that lived among them, were murdered in great numbers.

By this time the Lords of the Councell had armed as many as they were able, and given Commiſſions for raiſing of ſeverall Regiments, which were put into the hands (for the moſt part) of gallant men, as their actions after teſtified to the world; Sir CHARLES COOTE an active, and valiant man, (who was alſo made Governor of *Dublin*) with great ſpeed made up his Regiment out of the poor, robbed, and ſtripped Engliſh, which had fled to *Dublin*; Sir HENRY TICHBORNE, a worthy Commander was diſpatched away with a Regiment of Foot, to keep *Tredagh* from the approaching Rebels: The Lord LAMBERT alſo, Sir THOMAS LUCAS, Captain ARMESTRONG, Captain YARNER,

YARNER, with others raiſed by Commiſſions ſouldiers there.

This was done about the middle of *November*; at which time alſo the Earle of *Ormond* with his well armed Troop of Horſe came to *Dublin*; where within few dayes after he was by a Commiſſion ſent from the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* (as likewiſe by the Kings approbation from *Scotland* ſignified in a Letter) made Lieutenant Generall of all the Forces there.

For the Earl of *Leciſter* at that time was not enabled ſo far with neceſſaries for the ſervice of *Ireland*, as to repair thither in perſon.

The Earl alſo ſent over to the Lords at *Dublin* (together with an Order of the Lords and Commons of the Parliament in *England*) comfortable Letters in this time of diſtreſſe, to let them know that the King had referred the whole buſineſſe of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*; who had undertaken the charge, and management of the War, had declared a ſpeedy, and vigorous aſſiſtance, had deſigned for their preſent ſupplies the ſumme of 50000 pound, and taken order for all further proviſions neceſſary.

But that they might not be altogether deſtitute of reall comfort, the Parliament of *England* ſent them over at the ſame time Twenty thouſand pound, which arrived moſt ſeaſonably at *Dublin* (their treaſure beginning utterly to fail) for paying thoſe new Companies which they had raiſed.

About the end of *November*, the Lords Juſtices, and Councell of *Ireland* conſidering the miſerable deſolations brought upon that whole Kingdom, and what miſeries were further threatned, Commanded by Proclamation a Publike, and religious Faſt, to be weekly obſerved upon Friday in the City of *Dublin*, to implore the mercy

mercy and aſſiſtance of Almighty God, and divert his heavy indignation from them.

CHAP. II.

The King returneth out of Scotland, *and is pompouſly entertained by the City of* London. *The Remonſtrance is publiſhed by the Parliament. The King entereth into the Houſe of Commons. The Proteſtation of the twelve Biſhops; and how it was cenſured by the Lords and Commons. Divers unhappy obſtructions of the releif of* Ireland.

BUT to leave *Ireland* ſtrugling againſt her ſad and wofull calamities, and returne again to the Affairs of *England*; at that ſame time about the end of *November* 1641 the King returned from *Scotland*, was by the City of *London* entertained, feaſted, and conducted to his Palace at *White-hall*, with as pompous Solemnity, and coſtly expreſſions of Love and Duty, as ever any King of *England* was.

Of which extraordinary teſtimonies of affection toward him, the King ſeemed very ſenſible, and returned Thanks to the City; inviting, within few dayes after, the chief of them to *Hampton* Court, where

where they were feaſted, and divers Aldermen knighted by his Majeſty.

While the King reſided at *Hampton* Court, the Houſe of Commons preſented to him a Remonſtrance or Declaration of the ſtate of the Kingdom; wherein all the chief grievances, and oppreſſions, which the Nation had groaned under, ſince the beginning of his Raign untill that time, were recited; but with as much tenderneſſe of expreſſion, and reſpect to his Perſon (for ſuch care they took, as it appeared in that Petition of theirs which accompanied the Remonſtrance) as ſo much truth could poſſibly be uttered. For all the fault is laid upon ill Miniſters, who are there called a Malignant Party.

That Remonſtrance, ſome little time before the Kings return out of *Scotland*, had bin with much earneſtneſſe debated in the Houſe of Commons: and at that time when it was Voted, ſo much divided was the Houſe, that not above nine voices carried it.

So fierce, and long were the diſputations about it, and arguments urged on both ſides, that not only the day, but a great part of night was ſpent in it. For the Houſe aroſe not untill two of the clock in the morning.

The prevailing part alleadged for it (as it was afterward expreſſed in their Petition to the King) that *Their intention was only to inform his Majeſty, his Peers, and all other his loyall Subjects; with no purpoſe at all of laying the leaſt blemiſh upon his Perſon, but to repreſent how much his Royall Authority and Truſt had been abuſed, to the great prejudice and danger of his Majeſty, and all his good Subjects.*

It was alleadged by many Gentlemen in ordinary diſcourſes, who were of the ſame opinion that the prevailing Voters in Parliament were, That ſuch a Remonſtrance might be of good uſe, and that the

King having perchance been ignorant in ſome degree, of how much evill had formerly been wrought, might by this Remonſtrance be not only brought to a knowledge of his paſt Errors, but a ſalubrious fear of offending again, by conſidering how publick and manifeſt to the World the defaults of Princes in point of Government muſt needs appear.

The other ſide were of opinion, That this Remonſtrance in ſtead of directing him for the future, would teach him only to hate the makers of it, as upbraiders of his crimes, and thoſe that went about to leſſen or blemiſh (and ſo the King ſeemed to reliſh it, as appeared in his Anſwer printed) his Reputation with the people. They held it fitter at ſuch a time, when the Kings Affections were dubious toward the Parliament, to win him by the ſweeter way of concealing his Errors, then by publiſhing of them, to hazard the provocation of him, with whom it was not behoveful to conteſt, unleſſe they were in hope to change his diſpoſition for the future, or aſcertained of their own power, and reſolved to make full uſe of it.

For mine own part, I will make no judgement at all upon it; nor can we truly judge by the ſucceſſe of things. But ſuch an unhappy Genius ruled thoſe times (for Hiſtorians have obſerved a Genius of times, as well as of climates, or men) that no endeavours proved ſucceſſefull; nor did any actions produce the right (though probable) effects.

Who would not in probability have judged that the forementioned coſtly, and ſplendid entertainment, which the City of *London* gave to the King, would have exceedingly endeared them unto him, and produced no effects but of love and concord? Yet accidentally it proved otherwiſe. For many people, ill-affected to the Parliament, gave it out in ordinary diſcourſe (*Non ignota loquor*, it is a known truth) that the City were weary of the Parliaments

ments tedious proceedings, and would be ready to joyn with the King againſt them. Whether it begat the ſame opinion in the King or not, I cannot tell; but certainly ſome conceived ſo, by actions which immediately followed, expreſſing a greater confidence againſt the Parliament then before, diſplacing ſome from ſuch Truſts, as they had conferred on them: Inſomuch that the City preſently after, finding what ill uſe was made of theſe expreſſions, were enforced to declare themſelves in a Petition to both Houſes; That ſince ſome ill-affected People had interpreted their Loyal and affectionate entertainment of the King, as a ſign that they would wholly adhere to him, and deſert the Parliament; they openly profeſſed the contrary; and that they would live and die with them for the good of the Common-wealth.

After which, the City, no leſſe then the Parliament, did ſeem to be diſtaſted both by the King and Queen.

The fears and jealouſies that now reigned, were of a ſadder nature then the fears of any former times had been; two years before, the people feared, that whileſt this King lived, they ſhould never ſee a Parliament; but now they began to fear that no Parliament could do them good.

At this time began that fatal breach between King and Parliament to appear viſibly, and wax daily wider, never to be cloſed, until the whole Kingdom was by ſad degrees brought into a ruinous War.

From henceforth no true confidence appeared between him and that high Court; every day almoſt contributed ſomewhat to the diviſion, and Declarations upon ſeverall occaſions were publiſhed to the world; of which, though the language for the moſt part were fairely couched, and ſweetned with frequent intermixtures of gracious expreſſions from the King, and affectionate profeſſions from the Parliament;

ment; yet the ſubſtance was matter of expoſtulation, and many intervening actions (which we ſhall endeavour to expreſſe particularly) did ſo far heighten them, and ſharpen by degrees the ſtile, till thoſe Paper-conteſtations became a fatall Prologue to that bloudy, and unnaturall War, which afterward enſued.

The King to anſwer that Remonſtrance before mentioned, publiſhed a Declaration to juſtifie his own Honor and Government; and at the ſame time ſent a Meſſage to the Common Councell of *London*, complaining of tumultuary aſſemblies of People from the City, daily reſorting to *Weſtminſter*, to the diſturbance of that place, and his Palace of *Whitehall*.

For people about that time in great numbers uſed to preſent Petitions to the Parliament, and make Proteſtations of their fidelity to them, in theſe times of fears and jealouſies, which grew now ſo great, that the Houſe of Commons, upon the ſame day that the King ſent that complaining Meſſage to the City, Petitioned him to allow them a Guard for ſecurity of their Perſons while they ſate: alleadging in the Petition that there was *a Malignant Party bitterly envenomed againſt them, who did daily gather ſtrength and confidence, and were now come to that height of boldneſſe, as to give out inſolent, and menacing ſpeeches againſt the Parliament it ſelf.* It was therefore their humble deſires that they might have a Guard out of the City, commanded by the Earl of Essex, Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſties Houſhold, of whoſe fidelity to King and Common wealth no queſtion was ever made.

Which Petition was denied by the King; but with a ſolemn engagement of himſelf by the *Word of a King, that the ſecurity of all, and every one of them from violence was, and ever ſhould be as much his care, as the preſervation of himſelf and his Children, and if this*

this generall aſſurance would not ſuffice to remove theſe apprehenſions, he would command ſuch a Guard to waite upon them, as he would be reſponſible for to Almighty God.

The next day after that the King had thus anſwered the Petition of the Houſe, being the fourth of *January* 1641 he gave unhappily a juſt occaſion for all men to think that their fears and jealouſies were not cauſeleſſe. For upon that day the King came to the Parliament in Perſon, attended with a great number of Gentlemen, Souldiers, and others armed with Swords and Piſtols to the number of about three hundred, who came up to the very door of the Houſe of Commons, and placed themſelves there, and in all paſſages neer unto it: The King in Perſon entered the Houſe of Commons, and demanded five Members of that Houſe to be delivered to him. The manner of it was, ſeating himſelf in the Speakers Chair, he asked him whether thoſe five Members were there or not? The Speaker Mr. WILLIAM LENTHALL, returned to his Majeſty an humble and diſcreet anſwer, That he had neither eyes to ſee, nor tongue to anſwer any thing, but what he was commanded by the Houſe.

The names of thoſe Members whom he demanded were Mr. DENZILL HOLLIS ſecond Sonne to the Earl of *Clare*, Sir ARTHUR HASLERIG, Mr. PYM, Mr. HAMDEN, and Mr. STRODE: All Gentlemen of great eſteem, and reputation in the Houſe. Two of them Mr. HOLLIS, and Mr. STRODE having before ſuffered many years of ſharp and harſh impriſonment from the King after the diſſolution of that Parliament in the fourth year of his Reign, for matters done in Parliament contrary to the Priviledges of that High Court. The King had the day before by his Attourny Generall Sir EDWARD HERBERT, a Member alſo of the Houſe of Commons, demanded the deliverance of thoſe five foremention'd

mentioned Gentlemen; and ſent a Sergeant at Armes to apprehend them, pretending that he meant to charge them, and together with them, the Lord MANDEVILE eldeſt ſon to the Earl of MANCHESTER a Member of the Houſe of Lords, with Articles of high Treaſon, and other miſdemeanors: which Articles were to this purpoſe;

1 *That they had endeavoured to ſubvert the Government, to deprive the King of his legall power, and to place on Subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power.*

2 *That they had endeavoured by foule aſperſions upon his Majeſties Government, to alienate the affections of his people from him.*

3 *That they endeavoured to draw His late Army from His Obedience, to ſide with them in traiterous Deſignes.*

4 *That they trayterouſly invited and encouraged a forraign power to invade His Majeſties kingdom of* England.

5 *That they trayterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the very Rights and Beeings of Parliament.*

6 *That they have endeavoured by force, and terror to compell the Parliament to joyne with them in their trayterous deſignes, and to that end have actually raiſed and countenanced tumults againſt the King and Parliament.*

7 *That they have trayterouſly conſpired to Leavy, and actually have Leavyed Warre againſt the King.*

But

But the Houſe of Commons hearing this demand, to prevent ſuch further breaches of Parliament Priviledges as might enſue, upon the ſame day ordered upon the Queſtion; *That if any perſons ſhould come to the lodgings of any Member of that Houſe, and there offer to ſeale their Trunkes or Doors, or to ſeize upon their Perſons, That then ſuch Members ſhould require the aide of the Conſtable to keep ſuch perſons in ſafe cuſtody, till the Houſe did give further Order. And they further declared, That if any Perſon ſhould offer to arreſt, or detain the Perſon of any Member of that Houſe, without firſt acquainting the Houſe therewith, and receiving further order from thence; that it ſhould be lawfull for ſuch a Member, or any Perſon in his aſſiſtance, to ſtand upon his, and their guard of defence, and to make reſiſtance, according to the Proteſtation taken, to defend the Priviledges of Parliaments.*

Theſe things had paſſed the day before that the King had ſo entered into the Houſe of Commons. His Majeſty finding that thoſe five Members were not there (for they by conſent of the Houſe, upon ſome informations of what would happen, had abſented themſelves) from the Speakers Chair, where he ſate, made a Speech to the Houſe, wherein he told them, That he was very ſorry for that occaſion; but yet, *no King of* England *that ever was, ſhould be more carefull to maintain the Priviledges of Parliament then he would be; that thoſe five Members were dangerous men; but he proteſted in the word of a King, That he never intended any force; but to proceed againſt them in a legall and fair way. But ſithence he could not now do that, which he came for, he would trouble them no more: but expected, as ſoon as thoſe five Members came to the Houſe, that the Houſe would ſend them to him: or elſe he would take his own courſe to find them.*

But this great breach of Priviledges of Parliament was encreaſed by many circumſtances. For the day before being the third of *January*, contrary to the fore-

foremention'd order of the Houſe of Commons, the Chambers, Studies, and Trunks of thoſe five Members by a Warrant from the King were ſealed up; Sir WILLIAM KILLIGREW, and Sir WILLIAM FLEMEN, with others being imployed in that ſervice. And within two dayes after, upon the ſixt of *January*, a Proclamation was made by the King for the apprehending and impriſoning of thoſe five Members; wherein it was ſuggeſted, that through the conſcience of their own guilt, they were abſent, and fled, not willing to ſubmit themſelves to Juſtice.

Whereupon the Houſe of Commons in vindication of their own Priviledges, and thoſe five Gentlemen, publiſhed within a few dayes after, a Declaration; in which that Proclamation of the Kings (entituled there, *A Printed Paper*) is declared to be falſe, ſcandalous, and illegall; and that notwithſtanding the ſaid Printed Paper, or any Warrant iſſued out, or any other matter yet appearing againſt them, or any of them, they may and ought to attend the ſervice of the ſaid Houſe of Commons, and the ſeverall Committees then on foot: And that it was lawfull for all Perſons to lodge, harbour, or converſe with them, or any of them; and whoſoever ſhould be queſtioned for the ſame, ſhould be under the protection, and Priviledge of Parliament.

The Houſe of Commons further declared, That the publiſhing of ſeverall Articles purporting a form of a Charge of high Treaſon againſt the Lord MANDEVILL, and the forenamed five Members, by Sir WILLIAM KILLIGREW, Sir WILLIAM FLEMEN, and others in the Innes of Court, and elſe where, in the Kings name, was an high breach of the priviledge of Parliament, a great ſcandall to his Majeſty, and his Government, a ſeditious act manifeſtly tending to the ſubverſion of the Peace of the Kingdome, and an injury, and diſhonour

to

to the ſaid Members, there being no legall charge, or accuſation againſt them.

Whereas there is mention made in the late recited words of this Declaration, concerning the Innes of Court, we cannot omit, that about the ſame time (ſo unhappy a Genius of diviſion reigned among all ſorts) there wanted not ſome men diſ-affected to the Parliament, who went up and down, perſwading the young Gentlemen of the Innes of Court to make offer of their ſervice to the King, as a guard of defence, if any danger threatned his Perſon. Upon which, divers of thoſe young Gentlemen, to ingratiate themſelves, repaired to the Court, and were kindly received by the King and Queen.

The Parliament at that time further declared, That the Priviledges of Parliament, and the Liberties of the Subject ſo violated and broken, could not be fully and ſufficiently vindicated, unleſſe his Majeſty would be pleaſed to diſcover the names of thoſe perſons, who adviſed his Majeſty to iſſue out ſuch Warrants for ſealing of the Chambers and Studies of the ſaid five Members; to ſend a Sergeant at Armes to the houſe of Commons to demand thoſe members; to iſſue out Warrants for their apprehenſion; to come thither himſelf in Perſon; to publiſh Articles in the forme of a Proclamation againſt the ſaid Members in the fore-declared manner; to the end that all ſuch perſons, who adviſed him to theſe actions, might receive condigne puniſhment.

According to this, the Houſes humbly deſired his Majeſty that he would ſo far ſatisfie their juſt and legall requeſt, as to let them know thoſe informers (for the Law in two ſeverall Statutes provides that ſatisfaction, that if in time of Parliament, the King accuſe a Member of the ſame, of what crime ſoever, he ought to ſignifie to the Parliament, who were the informers) but the King refuſed to do it. Upon which the Houſe of Commons examined his Atturny General Sir EDWARD

WARD HERBERT, who had preferred the aforeſaid Articles; he confeſſed nothing to them concerning any other Perſon, or informer; but only that he received the Command from the King himſelf, and knew nothing further of it. The ſame the King teſtified concerning his ſaid Attourny in a Letter to the Lord Keeper; wherein he juſtifieth the Atturny his action, as being no otherwiſe then the duty of a ſervant required. But the Parliament made another judgement of it, as namely that Sir EDWARD HERBERT had broken the Priviledge of Parliament in preferring the ſaid Articles, and done an illegal act; upon which he was committed to priſon.

Theſe actions of the King, did exceedingly afflict all honeſt Proteſtants, eſpecially at ſuch a time, when the affairs of bleeding *Ireland* did ſo much and ſo ſpeedily require the aſſiſtance of *England*; which muſt needs by theſe unhappy diſtractions be retarded, and the totall loſſe of the Proteſtant Cauſe there much endangered. But the City of *London* was not the leaſt ſenſible of it; who in a deep and ſorrowfull apprehenſion of this deſigne, Petitioned the King with an expreſſion of all the fears and dangers which they conceived themſelves in at that time. The things which they enumerate in their Petition are, *That his Majeſty had put out a Perſon of Honor and Truſt from being Lieutenant of the Tower*; *That he had lately fortified White-hall with men and munition in an unuſuall manner: Some of which men had abuſed with provoking language, and with drawn ſwords wounded divers unarmed Citizens paſſing by.* To explain this branch of their Petition, the Reader muſt be informed, That the King the very next day after he had entred the Houſe of Commons, as aforeſaid, went in his Coach into the City of *London*, whither he had heard that thoſe five Members had retired themſelves; and was every where humbly entreated by the Citizens, in flocks about his Coach, That he would be pleaſed

to

to agree with his Parliament, and not infringe the Priviledge thereof. The King perceiving which way the affections of the City went, returned again to *White-hall*, where he ſtaid about a week after. During which time (by what advice, or to what intention I cannot tell) he built there a little Court of Guard, and entertained ſome Gentlemen, and others, who, as the Petition declares, gave thoſe affronts to divers Citizens that paſſed by. They complain likewiſe in the Petition of *the late endeavours uſed to the Innes of Court: the calling in divers Canoniers, and other aſſiſtants into the Tower: the late diſcovery of divers Fire-works in the hands of a Papiſt. But moſt of all* (ſay they) *our feares are encreaſed by your Majeſties late going into the Houſe of Commons attended with a great number of armed men, beſides your ordinary Guard, for apprehending divers Members of that Houſe, to the endangering of your ſacred Perſon, and of the Perſons and Priviledges of that Honorable Aſſembly. The effects of all which fears tend, not only to the overthrow of the whole trade of this City and Kingdom; which your Petitioners already feel in a deep meaſure; but alſo to the utter ruine of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Lives and Liberties of all your loyall Subjects. The Petitioners therefore moſt humbly pray your ſacred Majeſty, that by the advice of your great Councell in Parliament, the Proteſtants in* Ireland *may be ſpeedily relieved, the Tower put into the hands of Perſons of Truſt, that by removall of doubtfull, and unknown Perſons from about* White-hall, *and* Weſtminſter, *a known and approved Guard may be appointed for the ſafety of your Majeſty, and Parliament; and that the Lord* MANDEVILL *and the five Members of the Houſe of Commons lately accuſed, may not be reſtrained of Liberty, or proceeded againſt otherwiſe then according to the Priviledges of Parliament.*

The King, though he conceived this Petition (as himſelf expreſſed) of an unuſuall nature, yet wil-

ling to give content to the City, returned a Gracious Anſwer to their particulars; That for *Ireland*, he conceived he had expreſſed as much care on his part, as poſſibly he could, and would not fail for the future. What he had done concerning the Tower, had been to ſatisfie their fears before, in diſplacing one of good Truſt, and putting in another of unqueſtionable Reputation; and what preparation of ſtrength ſoever he made there, was with as great an eye of ſafety and advantage to the City, as to his own Perſon. For his Guard entertained at *White-hall*, he alleadged the diſorderly and tumultuous conflux of people to *Weſtminſter*, to the danger of his Royall Perſon, not puniſhed at all by courſe of Law; and if any Citizens were wounded, he was aſſured it happened by their own ill demeanours: that he knew no other endeavours to the Innes of Court, then a gracious Intimation, that he accepted the tender of their loyall affections, encouraging them to continue the ſame upon all occaſions. That he knew of no Fire-works in the hands of Papiſts. For his going to the Houſe of Commons, that he intended no courſe of violence, though that way had been juſtifiable; for he was aſſured that no Priviledge of Parliament could extend to Treaſon; which he knew would be proved againſt them upon cleer grounds, and they in due time ſhould be acquainted with it; and that his proceedings againſt them ſhould be according to the Lawes.

The King preſently after his anſwering of that Petition, ſent another Meſſage to the Parliament, that for the preſent he would wave his proceedings againſt thoſe five Members; and returned a gentle Anſwer at that time to the Petitioners of *Buckinghamſhire*, who came to the number of about 2000 in behalf of their Knight Mr. HAMDEN, a Gentleman much honored by them, and by moſt of the whole Kingdom; in which Petition they prayed that Mr. HAMDEN, and the

the reſt, that lie under the burden of that accuſation, might enjoy the juſt priviledges of Parliament.

It was then grown a cuſtom, which proved accidentally very unhappie to the Kingdom, however it were meant, to come in great numbers to *Weſtminſter*, when they preſented Petitions to the Parliament; though the people petitioning were unarmed, and no juſt fear from them in the opinion of thoſe who affected the Parliament; yet thoſe who thought themſelves not well reliſhed by the people in general, took occaſion from thence, either to fear indeed, or at leaſt to pretend fear, alleadging that the Parliament was diſturbed by ſuch a numerous confluence of people, and the freedom of the Houſes in ſome degree infringed, that ſome of the meaner ſort were too apt to caſt out rude words againſt ſuch as they thought to be no good members of the Common-wealth, of what degree ſoever they were.

From hence was occaſion taken by ſome, to juſtifie that Guard about White-hall, and afterwards to excuſe the Kings abſenting himſelf from the Parliament: And from this ground did the twelve Biſhops, about a week before this City-Petition, frame their Petition and Proteſtation (for ſo it was called) to His Majeſtie and the Peers, which was to this purpoſe:

They proteſted themſelves to abominate all actions or opinions tending to Poperie, or any Malignity againſt the State; but were willing and ready to perform their duties in Parliament: But whereas, coming to perform that duty and ſervice, they have been rudely menaced, affronted, and put in fear of their lives by multitudes of people, and can finde no redreſſe or protection upon complaint made, they therefore humbly proteſt before His Majeſtie and the noble Peers, that ſaving to themſelves all their Rights and Intereſts of ſitting and voting in that Houſe at other times, they dare not ſit or vote in the Houſe of Peers, until His Majeſtie ſhall further ſecure them. And becauſe

becauſe their fears are not vain, but upon true grounds and objects, they do in all duty and humility therefore proteſt before His Majeſtie and the Peers, againſt all Laws, Orders, Votes, Reſolutions and Determinations, as in themſelves null, and of none effect, which in their abſence ſince the 27 of this inſtant December 1641 *have already paſſed, as likewiſe againſt all ſuch as ſhall hereafter paſſe, during this their enforced abſence from the ſaid Houſe.* Which Proteſtation they deſired the King to command the Clerk of that Houſe to record.

The Lords of Parliament immediately delivered by the mouth of the Lord Keeper at a Conference, to the Houſe of Commons, That ſeeing this Proteſtation was of dangerous conſequence, and deeply entrenching upon the fundamental Priviledges and Being of Parliament, therefore they thought fit to communicate it to the houſe of Commons. The Commons thanked their Lordſhips for imparting it to them with ſo much affection and ſpeed, and for expreſſing their ſenſe thereof; and came to this reſolution, To accuſe thoſe twelve Biſhops of high Treaſon.

Maſter GLYNN therefore was ſent to the Lords; who at their Bar, in the name of all the Commons of England, accuſed thoſe twelve Prelates of high Treaſon, for endeavouring to ſubvert the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, and the very Being of Parliaments; and to deſire the Lords that they might be forthwith ſequeſtred from Parliament, and put into ſafe cuſtodie; and that their Lordſhips would appoint a ſpeedie day for the Commons to charge them. The Lords inſtantly ſent the Black-Rod to finde out theſe Biſhops, and apprehend them: ſo that by eight of the clock at night they were all taken, and brought upon their knees to the Bar, and ten of them committed to the Tower: two of them, in regard of their age, were committed to the Black-Rod. The twelve

twelve Biſhops were theſe : Jo. *Eborac.* THOMAS *Dureſme*, ROBERT *Coven.* and *Lichfield*, JOS. *Norwich*, Jo. *Aſaph*, GUIL. *Bath & Wells*, GEO. *Hereford*, ROB. *Oxon.* MATTH. *Ely*, GODFREY *Gloucester*, Jo. *Peterborough*, MOR. *Landaff.*

Such work as this was daily made to the Parliament of *England* ; whereby not onely the relief of *Ireland* was wholly obſtructed, but all redreſſe of the grievances of *England*, and ſettlement of the State there, was ſo long retarded, till both Kingdoms were at laſt involved in the ſame War and Confuſion. It was a ſtrange thing that ſo barbarous and bloody a Rebellion ſhould break out in *Ireland*, without any the leaſt ſuſpicion or fear of ſuch a Calamity, without any cauſe given by the innocent Engliſh Proteſtants : and ſurely it may ſeem as ſtrange a thing, if well conſidered, that the revenge of ſo horrid and inhumane a Maſſacre ſhould be thus hindered ; and indeed might be thought almoſt impoſſible, unleſſe the raiſing of the one, and hindering the other, proceeded from the ſame cauſe.

There was a great hope about the beginning of *December*, that *Ireland* would ſpeedily be relieved, and Forces tranſported out of *Scotland* within a ſhort time to that purpoſe, conſidering what careful proviſions the Parliament of *England* (as is before related) had made upon the firſt notice of it. But at that time the King was returned from *Scotland* ; and in a Speech to the Parliament, in which he conjured them to proceed in the buſineſſe of relieving *Ireland*, he likewiſe took notice of a Bill for preſſing of Souldiers for *Ireland*, depending in the Houſe of Peers, and declared his diſlike of putting it in that way ; being, as he ſaid, a great infringement and diminution of his Royal Prerogative ; telling them withal, that he was little beholding to that man, who began ſuch a diſpute concerning the bounds of his ancient and undoubted Prerogative. But he offered at laſt that the Bill

Bill might paſſe with a *Salvo jure* both to King and People, leaving ſuch debates to a time that might better bear it.

This Speech of the King's was much diſtaſted by both Houſes, as a great breach of Parliament-priviledge, inſomuch as they framed a Petition to him, wherein they expreſſe, That the King, by taking notice of the debate in the Houſe of Lords concerning a Bill for preſſing of Souldiers, had broken the fundamental Priviledge of Parliament, which is, that *he ought not to take notice of any matter in agitation or debate in either Houſe, but by their information and agreement; and that he ought not to propound any condition or limitation to a Bill in debate and preparation, or to manifeſt his approbation or diſlike of the ſame, until it be preſented to his Majeſtie in due courſe of Parliament; and that every particular Member of either Houſe hath free liberty of ſpeech, to propound or debate matters according to Order of Parliament; and that the King ought not to conceive diſpleaſure againſt him for ſuch opinions or propoſitions.* They intreated likewiſe a reparation for that great breach of Priviledge; and for prevention of the like, that the King would make known who they were, by whoſe miſ-information and evil counſel he had done it, that they might receive condign puniſhment.

This buſineſſe took up ſome time, and was one unhappie impediment to the ſudden relief of *Ireland*, notwithſtanding the high neceſſities of that Kingdom, and the affections of *England* in general to it; and ſo heavily went on all preparations, that it was long before the Houſe of Commons could finde means to enable the Lord Lieutenant to ſend over ſo much as one Regiment, for defence of the Caſtle and City of *Dublin*, which was commanded by a worthy Gentleman Sir SIMON HARCOUT; who being deſigned Governour of the City of *Dublin*, was ſent away by Order of Parliament with his Regiment, and

and landed there on the laſt day of *December* 1641, to the great comfort of that City, being much diſtreſſed and terrified by the neer approach of the Iriſh Rebels.

Another obſtruction of the relief of *Ireland* happened about three weeks after, when the Scots delivered eight Propoſitions to the Engliſh Parliament, touching the ſending over of Two thouſand five hundred Scots, which were then in readineſſe, into the north of *Ireland*. Both Houſes of Parliament conſented to all the Propoſitions; but the King excepted againſt one of them, being the third, which was, *That the Scots deſired to have the keeping of the Town and Caſtle of* Carrickfergus, *with power to remain there, or enlarge their Quarters at diſcretion; and if any Regiments or Troops in that Province ſhould joyn with them, that they receive Orders from the chief Commander of the Scotiſh Forces.* Againſt this Article the King took exceptions, and deſired the Houſes to take it again into conſideration, as a thing of importance, which he doubted might be prejudicial to *England*: But if the Houſe deſired it ſhould be ſo, himſelf would ſpeak with the Scotiſh Commiſſioners, to ſee what ſatisfaction he could give them therein. The Scots told his Majeſtie, that ſince it was agreed upon by both Houſes of Parliament, and that the ſtrength of his Majeſties argument was, That Article implied too great a Truſt for Auxiliary Forces, they were in good hope that his Majeſtie, being their native King, would not ſhew leſſe truſt in them, then their neighbour-Nation had freely done. Upon which the King at laſt was content to admit the Article, and the advice of his Parliament.

This fatal obſtruction of *Ireland*'s relief, did but ſecond another immediately before: For at the firſt, the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* had not power given them from the State there, to treat for ſending over a leſſe number then ten thouſand men; which the

Lords were unwilling to yeeld to. But that obſtacle ſeemed to be removed by the zealous affection of the Houſe of Commons; who according to thoſe Inſtructions of the State of *Scotland* to their Commiſſioners, voted the ſending over of ten thouſand Scots. But the Houſe of Lords, after long debate, would not yeeld unto it, unleſſe the Houſe of Commons would give aſſurance that ten thouſand Engliſh might be as ſpeedily ſent over: which the Commons as much deſired, and promiſed their endeavour in it; but that the Engliſh then could not be ſo ſoon raiſed, much leſſe tranſported, as the Scots, every man underſtood. There was no other reaſon given, that ever I underſtood, but onely That it was diſhonorable for *England*, that *Ireland* ſhould be reduced by the Scots: and this was the diſcourſe of Papiſts, and other perſons diſaffected to the Cauſe, among the people everywhere.

Though it were much wondered at by all good Proteſtants, that ſo nice a point of Honour ſhould be ſtood upon, when their Religion and Cauſe lay bleeding in *Ireland* after ſo ſad and deplorable a kinde; which began to deject the ſpirits of the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland*, and make them ſuſpect ſome ſecret workings under-hand againſt the good affections expreſſed by the Houſe of Commons, and thoſe Lords who were well-affected to the State: for they by the greater number were over-voted, ſo many Popiſh and ill-affected Lords, beſides four and twenty Biſhops (for the Biſhops voices in Parliament were not then taken away) ſitting in that Houſe.

It was then alſo generally talked, and much complained of among the well-affected people, that the King had been ſo backward in proclaiming thoſe barbarous Iriſh, Rebels: and not onely talked among the people, but alleadged by the Parliament it ſelf (in their own Declaration afterward, when the breach between

between King and Parliament grew greater) as a ſigne that thoſe inhumane Rebels had been *countenanced by the Court of* England, *in that the Proclamation whereby they were declared Traitors, was ſo long with held, as till the firſt of* January, *though the Rebellion broke forth in* October *before; and then no more then fourty Copies were appointed to be printed, with a ſpecial command from His Majeſtie not to exceed that number; and that none of them ſhould be publiſhed, till the Kings pleaſure were further ſignified, as by the Warrant appears, a true copie whereof was printed: ſo that a few onely could take notice of it. And this* (ſay they) *was made more obſervable by the late contrary proceedings againſt the Scots, who were in a very quick and ſharp manner proclaimed, and thoſe Proclamations forthwith diſperſed with as much diligence as might be, thorow all the Kingdom; and ordered to be read in every Church, accompanied with publike Prayers and Execrations.*

That Declaration of the Lords and Commons, in which this is expreſſed concerning the Kings ſlowe proclaiming of the Iriſh Rebels, was publiſhed when the King was gone to *York*; at which he was much diſtaſted in many particulars, and returned Anſwer to them. Among others, becauſe that of *Ireland* ſeemed to lie heavie upon his reputation, it is juſt that the Reader ſhould ſee the King's own Anſwer to that point, that he may the more fairly judge; which ſhall be therefore inſerted, in the very words of the Kings Declaration.

To countenance thoſe unhandſome expreſſions whereby uſually they have implied Our connivence at, or want of zeal againſt the Rebellion of Ireland (*ſo odious to to all good men*) *they have found a new way of exprobation, That the Proclamation againſt thoſe bloodie Traitors came not out till the beginning of* January, *though that Rebellion broke out in* October; *and then*

by ſpecial Command from Us, but fourty Copies were appointed to be printed. It is well known where we were at that time, when that Rebellion broke forth, in Scotland; *that we immediately from thence recommended the care of that buſineſſe to both Houſes of Parliament here, after We had provided for all fitting Supplies from our Kingdom of* Scotland; *that after Our return hither, We obſerved all thoſe Forms for that ſervice, which We were adviſed to by Our Councel of* Ireland, *or both Houſes of Parliament here: and if no Proclamation iſſued out ſooner (of which for the preſent We are not certain, but think that others before that time were iſſued by Our directions) it was, becauſe the Lords Juſtices of that Kingdom deſired them no ſooner; and when they did, the number they deſired was but twenty, which they adviſed might be ſigned by Us; which We for expedition of the ſervice, commanded to be printed (a circumſtance not deſired by them) thereupon We ſigned more of them then Our Juſtices deſired: all which was very well known to ſome Members of one or both Houſes of Parliament, who have the more to anſwer, if they forbore to expreſſe it at the paſſing of this Declaration; and if they did expreſſe it, We have the greater reaſon to complain, that ſo envious an aſperſion ſhould be caſt upon Us to Our People, when they knew well how to anſwer their own Objection.*

This was the Kings Anſwer to that point of the Parliaments Declaration concerning *Ireland*. But the Houſe of Commons in another Declaration, though long after, charge the King upon the ſame particular, with more circumſtances of aggravation: as, *That although the Rebels had moſt impudently ſtyled themſelves* The Queens Army, *and profeſſed that the cauſe of their riſing was, To maintain the King's Prerogative, and the Queens Religion, againſt the Puritan Parliament of* England; *and thereupon both Houſes of Parliament did humbly and earneſtly adviſe His Majeſtie to wipe away this dangerous Scandal, by proclaiming them*

Rebels

Rebels and Traitors to His Majeſtie and the Crown of England, *which then would have mated and weakned the Conſpirators in the beginning, and have encouraged both the Parliaments here, and good people there, the more vigorouſly to have oppoſed their proceedings: yet ſuch was the power of evil counſel about him, that no Proclamation was ſet forth to that purpoſe, till almoſt three months after the breaking out of this Rebellion; and then Command given that but fourty ſhould be printed, nor they publiſhed, till further direction ſhould be given by His Majeſtie.* But the buſineſſe of *Ireland* was more particularly touched in ſubſequent Declarations, which in their due time and place may hereafter be related.

That Proclamation againſt the Iriſh Rebels, came not out above two days before the King entred the Houſe of Commons, as is before expreſſed; by which act ſo great a diſturbance was made, and the relief of *Ireland* ſo much retarded.

It was likewiſe complained of to the King by the Houſe of Commons, within three weeks after, that ſince the Ports by order of both Houſes (as is before mentioned) had been ſtopped againſt all Iriſh Papiſts, many of the chief Commanders, then in the Head of the Rebels, had been ſuffered to paſſe by His Majeſties immediate Warrant. Of which the King cleared himſelf in Anſwer to them, that by examining his own memory, and the notes of his Secretaries, he could not finde himſelf guilty of granting any ſuch Warrants.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Queen paſſeth into Holland, *with her daughter the Princeſſe* MARY. *Difference between the King and Parliament concerning the* Militia. *The King goeth toward* York, *and is followed with a Petition from the Lords and Commons to* Theobalds, *and another Declaration to* Newmarket. *The King is denied entrance into* Hull *by Sir* JOHN HOTHAM.

IT was wonderful that nothing at all could advance or further this great and neceſſary work of reducing *Ireland*, when ſo many courſes were propounded and undertaken: as about the middle of *February*, both Houſes of Parliament had found a way, which they conceived to be moſt ſubſtantial and firm to carry on that War; namely, by adventuring for proportions of Land in *Ireland*; there being, by their account, within the four Provinces of *Ulſter*, *Connaught*, *Munſter* and *Leinſter* two millions and an half of Acres of Land forfeitable from the Rebels in thoſe Provinces, to be ſhared among thoſe Adventurers in the City of *London*, or other Counties thereabout, that would bring in or ſubſcribe ſuch Sums of money as were thought fit, and which were upon good and ſe-

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rious conſideration ſet down in particular ; whereby, if an happie Conqueſt were made upon thoſe bloody Rebels, a large recompence might be made to all thoſe Engliſh who either in Perſon or Purſe had contributed to ſo good a work. The King was well contented with theſe Propoſitions, offering withal to go himſelf in Perſon into *Ireland* (but that was not thought fitting by the Parliament) ; and ſo far it paſſed, that an Act was made to that purpoſe, enabling the Parliament with power to carry on that War, until *Ireland* ſhould be declared to be wholly ſubdued ; and that no Peace or Ceſſation of Arms ſhould be at any time made with thoſe Rebels, unleſſe both Houſes of Parliament aſſented to it.

But while theſe things were acting, other buſineſſe, wherein the ſafety and ſecurity of *England* was concerned, fell into debate ; which was touching the *Militia* of the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, to be ſetled in every County upon ſuch perſons as the Parliament ſhould approve. A Petition to this purpoſe was ſent to the King, preſently after they had received a Meſſage from him, dated the twentieth of *January*, wherein the King in fair language deſires the Parliament, ſince that particular Grievances and Diſtractions were too many, and would be too tedious to be preſented by themſelves, that they would compriſe and digeſt them into one entire Body, *that ſo His Majeſtie and themſelves might be able to make the more clear Judgement of them ; and that it ſhould then appear, by what His Majeſtie would do, how far he hath been from intending or deſigning any of thoſe things, which the too-great fears and jealouſies of ſome perſons, ſeem to apprehend ; and how ready he would be to equal or exceed the greateſt examples of moſt indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to the People.*

This Meſſage was received with thanks by the Parliament, who reſolved to take it into ſpeedie and ſe-

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rious conſideration. But to enable them with ſecurity to diſcharge their duties in thoſe affairs, they deſired the King to raiſe up to them a ſure ground of ſafety and confidence, by putting in the mean time the Tower, with other principal Forts, and the whole *Militia* of the Kingdom, into the hands of ſuch perſons as the Parliament might truſt, and ſhould be recommended to him by both Houſes. This Petition of theirs was not well reliſhed by the King, as appeared by his Anſwer. But the thing was of ſo great conſequence, that one Anſwer could not ſuffice.

Many reiterated Petitions were preſented, and many Anſwers returned upon this ſubject, which are extant upon Record; where the King often promiſeth to be careful, that no hands, but thoſe who are very faithful to the Common-wealth, ſhall be by him entruſted with any part of the *Militia*; but the nomination of any perſons to thoſe places, he will reſerve to himſelf, it being a principal and inſeparable flower of his Crown, veſted in him, and derived to him from his Anceſtors, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. The Parliament on the other ſide affirming, that nothing could enable them to ſuppreſſe the Rebellion in *Ireland*, and ſecure themſelves, but the inſtant granting of that humble Petition; which they hoped the King would not abſolutely deny: That it was their duty to him and the Common-wealth, to repreſent unto him whatſoever they found ſo abſolutely neceſſary; for the preſervation of both which, the Laws both of God and man enjoyn them to ſee it put in execution.

During the debate of this buſineſſe, and before any abſolute concluſion was made of it, the King took a journey to *Canterbury*, upon what reaſons, ſhall be anon declared. It was before related, that the King after his entring into the Houſe of Commons to ſurpriſe the five Members, had ſtayed a week at *Whitehall*,

hall, and then retired to *Hampton-Court*; the next day after, divers Citizens, with a great ſhew of Boats, and Guns in them, brought the five Members to *Weſtminſter*, with many expreſſions that they would not forſake them, who ſate to defend their Religion, Laws and Liberties.

The King now reſident at *Hampton-Court*, ſeemed extremely diſtaſted at the Citie, and pretended the reaſons of his abſence from Parliament to be fear for his Perſon, by reaſon of Tumults that might be raiſed: but true it is, after this time, he never could be brought neer the Citie or Parliament either in body or minde.

Within few days after the King had been at *Hampton-Court*, he ſent for divers of his ſervants, who were then Members of the Parliament, to leave the Houſe, and give their attendance upon his Perſon: But two, the chief of them, ROBERT Earl of *Eſſex*, lately made Lord Chamberlain of his Houſhold, and HENRY Earl of *Holland*, Groom of the Stool, choſe rather to obey his Writ whereby they were called to aſſiſt in Parliament about the higheſt affairs of *England*, then to obey this private Command of his, to come and attend at *Hampton-Court*, alleadging in excuſe, that their attendance in Parliament was truer ſervice to him as King, then any other could be. For this, the King preſently after ſent a Meſſenger to demand the Staff of the one, and the Key of the other, being the Enſignes of their Offices; which they willingly reſigned to the Meſſengers hands.

From *Hampton-Court*, about the midſt of *February*, the King and Queen went to *Canterbury*, and ſo to *Dover*, with the Princeſſe MARY their eldeſt daughter, married, not a yeer before, to WILLIAM ſon to the Prince of *Orange*. The Queen her ſelf paſſed from thence into *Holland*, under pretext of keeping her daughter company to her husband, (the Lady was then about ten yeers of age) which was

not at all hindered by the Parliament. But the Queen carried with her all or the greateſt part of the Crown-Jewels of *England*, which immediately ſhe pawned in *Holland*, and with that money bought Arms and Ammunition for that ſad War which enſued not long after, between the King and the Parliament of *England*.

The King's ſtay at *Canterbury* and *Dover* was not long, nor the places ſo remote, but that ſome buſineſſe might paſſe, though with great trouble of thoſe Lords, and others, Members of the Houſe of Commons, who poſted between, upon all occaſions. The greateſt thing which was done in that time, was, that the King at *Canterbury* ſigned the Bill for taking away Biſhops Votes in Parliament.

When the Queen and her daughter had taken Sail, the King came back to *Greenwich*, whither he ſent for the Prince and Duke of *York* to come to him, and attend him in his journey to the City of *York*, which was the place which he intended to reſide at, and to that purpoſe immediately went on his way as far as *Theobalds*; to which place he was followed with a Petition from both Houſes, preſented to him upon the firſt of *March* 1641. The ſubſtance of it was, to intreat his Majeſtie that he would at laſt be pleaſed to grant their neceſſary Petition concerning the *Militia* of *England*; which if he did refuſe, in theſe times of diſtraction, they muſt be enforced, and did reſolve to diſpoſe of it for the ſafety of the Kingdom, in ſuch manner as had been propounded to his Majeſtie. They likewiſe intreated him to continue his abode neer *London*, and his Parliament, and not to take his ſon the Prince out of thoſe parts: and in concluſion, deſired his Majeſtie to be informed by them, his great Councel, that by the Laws of *England*, the power of raiſing, ordering and diſpoſing of the *Militia* within any Citie, Town, or other place, cannot be granted to any Corporation by Charter, or other-

otherwiſe, without the authority and conſent of Parliament.

The King denied to give any other Anſwer concerning the *Militia*, then what he had before done; That he conceived himſelf not ſafe in any place neer *London*; and that he would take ſuch a care of the Prince his ſon, as ſhould juſtifie him to God as a Father, and to his Dominions as a King.

The Parliament, upon occaſion of that ſhort Anſwer of the King to their Petition, voted preſently that that Anſwer was a flat Denial; and that all was truth which they had averred in their Petition, concerning the danger of his removal ſo far from the Parliament, and likewiſe carrying of his ſon away. It was likewiſe ordered by the Lords and Commons, that the Earl of *Northumberland* Lord Admiral, ſhould give ſpeedie directions for all the Ships belonging to the Navie Royal, to be ſpeedily rigged, and fitted for the ſervice of the Common-wealth.

A Declaration was drawn then by both Houſes, and preſented to the King at *Newmarket*, upon the ninth of *March*, by the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Holland*, with ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons, wherein were repreſented to him ſome of the old Grievances expreſſed in the firſt Remonſtrance at his return out of *Scotland*: as, That the deſigne of altering Religion had been carried on by thoſe of greateſt authority about him, for divers yeers: That the War againſt *Scotland* was procured in order to that deſigne: That the Rebellion in *Ireland* was contrived here in *England*, out of many preſumptions gathered from ſeveral examinations there. They ſpeak likewiſe of his attempt for bringing his Army againſt the Parliament, of which before mention was made; of his Warrants granted contrary to promiſe, for tranſportation of JERMYN, DIGBY, and other Delinquents; of that great breach of Parliament-Priviledge, in coming to the Houſe of Commons to

ſurpriſe thoſe Members: by all which they endeavour to prove their fears and jealouſies grounded upon true ſubſtantial reaſons, and neceſſary for the ſafety the Common-wealth entruſted to them; and that the Kings fear to reſide neer *London*, is altogether without ground, and pretended for nothing but to perplex the Common-wealth, proceeding from evil and traiterous Counſels; affirming, that His Majeſties abſence would cauſe men to believe, that it was out of deſigne to diſcourage the undertakers, and hinder the other proviſions for relieving *Ireland*; that it would hearten the Rebels there, and all diſ-affected perſons in this Kingdom.

The King expreſſed much indignation when he received this Remonſtrance, complaining of the manner of it, that it was onely an upbraiding, not an invitation or perſwaſion of him to return to the Parliament; and told them, that in all ARISTOTLE's Rhetoricks there was no ſuch argument of Perſwaſion; and that he would anſwer it in another Declaration, which within few days after was drawn up, and publiſhed; wherein, with deep proteſtations, he vindicates the truth of his Religion, and juſtifies his other proceedings, denying thoſe Warrants for tranſporting Maſter JERMYN and others, in that manner which they urge them: taxes them with their needleſſe fears, and uncertain expreſſions of advertiſements from *Rome*, *Venice*, *Paris*, and other places: recites the many gracious Acts which he had already paſſed this Parliament, to ſatisfie his People; and proteſts in concluſion, that he is moſt deſirous to reſide neer his Parliament, and would immediately return to *London*, if he could ſee or hear of any proviſions made for his ſecurity.

The King ſent them another Meſſage from *Huntingdon* on the 15 of *March*, being then upon his removal to the City of *York*; wherein he expreſſes his care of *Ireland*, and not to break the Priviledge of

of Parliament; but chiefly, to let them know that he underſtands his own Rights; forbidding them to preſume, upon any pretence of Order or Ordinance (to which he is no party) concerning the *Militia*, or any other thing, to do or execute what is not warranted by thoſe Laws; and withal recommending to them the ſubſtance of his Meſſage of the twentieth of *January* laſt; that they compoſe and digeſt with all ſpeed ſuch Acts as they ſhall think fit, for the preſent and future eſtabliſhment of their Priviledges.

Theſe were the heads of ſome Declarations, Petitions, and Anſwers: for about this time, and for three months after, ſuch Meſſages, Remonſtrances, Petitions and Anſwers grew ſo voluminous upon all occaſions, as might, recited *verbatim*, make a large Hiſtory.

Thus is the King gone to *York*, while the Parliament ſit at *London*, declaring in vain, and voting (as they did upon receipt of his laſt Meſſage) by conſent of both Houſes,

1. *That the King's abſence ſo far remote from his Parliament, is not onely an obſtruction, but may be a deſtruction to the affairs of* Ireland.

2. *That when the Lords and Commons in Parliament ſhall declare what the Law of the Land is, to have this not onely queſtioned and controverted, but contradicted, and a Command that it ſhould not be obeyed, is an high breach of the Priviledge of Parliament.*

3. *That they which adviſed the King to abſent himſelf from the Parliament, are enemies to the peace of this Kingdom, and juſtly to be ſuſpected as favourers of the Rebellion in* Ireland.

It may ſeem ſtrange to a Reader, that the King, without any, but ſuch bootleſſe oppoſition as Pen and Paper can make againſt him, even in the ſight and notice of a Parliament, whilſt they not onely beheld his actions, but ſeemed to diſcern the deſignes, and

and foreſee the effects which would flow from them, could be able to carry the work on ſo clearly and ſo far, until the whole Kingdom were thereby involved in a moſt calamitous and deſtructive War. I will not preſume to publiſh any opinion of mine own, how or when this ruine of the Kingdom ſhould have been prevented; but onely relate what was then done, that poſterity hereafter may judge of it.

It was not unknown to the Parliament, at leaſt not unſuſpected (for it was uſually talked among the people of that time) that the Queen, when ſhe paſſed into *Holland*, carried with her the Crown-Jewels, to pawn or ſell there: which if ſhe did, they could not be ignorant what the intention was, or what the effect was like to prove; nor could it be unknown to them how unlawful the act was, and therefore how fit to be prevented; for they indicted her afterwards of high Treaſon for that fact, and were able to tell the world in a Declaration, how great a crime it is in a King himſelf to make away the Ornaments of the Crown, and in particular, the Jewels of it; yea, in ſuch Kings as did it onely to ſpend or give away, not to maintain War againſt their own People, for whoſe preſervation not onely thoſe, but whatſoever they poſſeſſe, was firſt beſtowed on them.

They ſeemed to oppoſe the Prince his departure from *Hampton-Court*, to attend the King his Father into the North, becauſe it might increaſe fears and jealouſies in the People: but the King carried him away.

Above all the reſt, they were not ignorant how wonderful an obſtruction to all buſineſſe of Parliament, and to the ſetling of *England*, or relieving of *Ireland*, that far removal of the Kings Perſon from the Parliament muſt needs prove, and which themſelves ſufficiently expreſſed: That the very Journey it ſelf, though no worſe deſigne were in it, was in no kinde excuſable, as moſt inconvenient, for the reaſons afore-

aforeſaid, and convenient in nothing that was ever alleadged for it. Yet the King paſſed quietly thither.

One deſigne of the King, which indeed was thought the chief of that his Northern Expedition, was prevented by the Parliament by an open and forcible way, which was the ſeizing upon the ſtrong Town and Fort of *Hull*, with all that Magazine of Arms which was there depoſited. But it was very remarkable what means had been uſed on both ſides, to prevent, if it had been poſſible, that open denial of the King's entrance into *Hull*, and that the matter ſhould not have come ſo far: Which the King conceived ſo great an affront to him, that it grew the ſubject of many large and voluminous Declarations afterward, from either Part.

For the prevention of that, before it happened, the King from *York* had ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament upon the eighth of *April* 1642, that he intended to go in Perſon over into *Ireland*, to chaſtiſe by force of Arms thoſe barbarous and bloodie Rebels; and to that purpoſe, he thought fit to advertiſe the Parliament that he intended to raiſe forthwith, by his Commiſſions, in the Counties neer *Weſtcheſter*, a Guard for his own Perſon (when he ſhould come into *Ireland*) conſiſting of two thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe, which he would arm at *Weſtchester*, from his Magazine of *Hull*.

But at the ſame time, the Lords and Commons in Parliament had ſent a Petition to the King, for leave to remove the Magazine at *Hull* to the Tower of *London*; alleadging that the Stores of Arms and Ammunition in the Tower were much diminiſhed, and that the neceſſity of Supplies for the Kingdom of *Ireland* (for which they had been iſſued from thence) daily increaſed: That the occaſion for which the Magazine was placed at *Hull*, was taken away, there being no danger now from *Scotland*. They likewiſe alleadged that it would be kept in the Tower with leſſe charge, and more

more ſafety, and tranſported from thence with much more convenience for the ſervice of *Ireland*.

The King ſeemed very angry at this Petition, alleadging, among other things, that if any of thoſe Arms were deſigned for *Ulſter* or *Leinſter*, the conveyance of them would be more eaſie and convenient from *Hull*, then from *London*. But moſt of all he ſeemed to be exaſperated (for the Parliament had uſed timely prevention) that they had ſent to keep out from thence the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, whom the King in that Anſwer termeth *A Perſon of honour, fortune, and unblemiſhed reputation*, and committed that Town and Fort (without his conſent) to the hands of Sir JOHN HOTHAM.

The Parliament, as it appeared by their expreſſion in a Declaration at that time, were much confirmed in that opinion which they had of the King's aiming at *Hull*, when he went Northward, by an intercepted Letter from the Lord GEORGE DIGBY, dated from *Middleborough* in *Zealand* the 20 of *January* 1641, to Sir LEWIS DIVES, wherein he writes, that if the King will declare himſelf, and retire to a ſafe place, he ſhould be able to wait upon him from thence, as well as out of any part of *England*, over and above the ſervice which he might do for him there in the mean time. The like expreſſions he uſed in another Letter to the Queen, intercepted in the ſame Packet, intimating ſome ſervice he might do her in thoſe parts; and deſired a Cypher, whereby to hold correſpondencie with her in writing. This young Lord, of whom we ſpake before about the death of the Earl of *Strafford*, a man of excellent parts, and one that had been acceptable to the Parliament, until his Speech about that buſineſſe, and ſome other miſcarriage detected upon the ſame occaſion, was much alienated in heart from the Parliament, becauſe that Speech of his (which he had printed againſt Command) was ordered to be burned by the hands of the Hang-

Hang-man ; ſo that afterward he became a great cheriſher, as appeared in divers things, of thoſe diviſions which were growing between the King and Parliament, and was voted againſt in the Houſe of Commons, as a diſturber of the publike peace, for appearing armed at *Kingſton* upon *Thames* in an unuſual and illegal manner, with other circumſtances thereto belonging. Whereupon the Lords in Parliament ſent for him ; and if he appeared not within twenty days, proclaimed him Traitor. But he in the mean time was tranſported by Sir JOHN PENNINGTON into *Holland*, by a Warrant under the Kings hand, as the Declaration of the Lords and Commons to the King in *March* following expreſſed.

During the time that the King and Parliament were (as aforeſaid) buſied about getting the Magazine of *Hull*, the Parliament proceeded by degrees in ſetling the *Militia* in divers Counties, and putting the Commands into ſuch hands as they repoſed confidence in ; as likewiſe to take charge of the Navie, and provide by that means againſt any forraign force that might aſſault the Kingdom. And becauſe the Earl of *Northumberland* Lord Admiral, by reaſon of indiſpoſition of health, was diſenabled then for commanding the Fleet in his own perſon, they thereupon recommended to his Lordſhip the Earl of *Warwick* (a man of ſuch ability in Sea-affairs, and ſuch untainted reputation, as they durſt highly truſt) to ſupply his Lordſhips room in that employment. But underſtanding that the King had choſen Sir JOHN PENNINGTON into that Command, a Meſſage was ſent from both Houſes to the King on the 28 of *March*, to intreat him that the employment might no longer be detained from the Earl of *Warwick*, as a noble perſon choſen by both Houſes of Parliament in that Service, the Charge whereof was to be born by the Common-wealth.

The King refuſed to admit of the Earl of *War-*

wick, taking great exception at the Meſſage from both Houſes, as appeared by his Letter to the Lord Keeper concerning it, that they would take upon them the nominating of the chief Sea-Commander. But the Earl of *Warwick*, within few months after, though not without ſome oppoſition of divers Gentlemen, who had before been placed in Command by the King, and ſtrove to carry away their Ships to His Majeſtie, was poſſeſſed of the whole Navie: of which ſome more particulars may hereafter be related.

Upon the 23 of *April* 1642, the King, attended by ſome Noble-men, and no great train of Gentlemen and Souldiers, came before the walls of *Hull*, to demand entrance there; but he found the Gates ſhut, and the Bridges drawn up, by the command of Sir JOHN HOTHAM a member of the Houſe of Commons, and by the Parliament entruſted with the Government of that Town. Sir JOHN HOTHAM appeared upon the Wall, and kneeling down there, intreated his Majeſtie that he would be pleaſed not to command that, which he muſt be enforced (though extremely grieved to diſobey his Majeſtie in any thing) to deny at that time; alleadging that he could not admit his Majeſtie, without breach of truſt to the Parliament, beſeeching the King to give him leave to ſend to the Parliament, to acquaint them with his command, and take their direction.

The King, upon this denial, grew into choler, and after ſome hot words, ſeeming not to believe that the Parliament had commanded any ſuch thing; & to that purpoſe ſpeaking, demanded of Sir JOHN HOTHAM, that if he had Order from the Parliament to keep out his Perſon, he ſhould ſhew it in Writing; for otherwiſe he would not believe it. But Sir JOHN HOTHAM, becauſe the Order was not in thoſe expreſſe words, as naming the Kings particular perſon, though he knew the ſenſe and meaning of the Parliament, did not produce any Writing; onely beſeeching the King not

not to command him that which he might not do. Whereupon the King, after ſome hours ſpent in vain about the Town, proclaimed Sir JOHN HOTHAM Traitour; and returned, when he had received out of the Town his Son the Duke of *York*, and his Nephew the Prince Electour, whom Sir JOHN the day before had admitted into the Town, entertained, and lodged there that night.

The next day the King, in a Meſſage to the Parliament, complained of that affront offered by Sir JOHN HOTHAM, accuſing him for that he had traiterouſly and ſeditiouſly ſtrived to put his diſobedience upon the Parliament, the King ſeeming to believe that HOTHAM had done it upon his own head, without any direction or authority from them: And within two days after, ſent another Meſſage to the Parliament, complaining in a ſharper manner then before, of that great indignity, which, if they afforded him no reparation, would make the World believe that his priviledges were leſſe then any Subjects in the Land; and that it was more lawful to rob him of his proper Goods, then the meaneſt Member of the Kingdom. He ſent alſo, at the ſame time, a Letter to the Maior of *Hull*, commanding him, and all Officers of that Town, to take care that no part of the Magazine ſhould be removed, or tranſported out of the Town, under any pretence of Order or Power whatſoever, without his Royal Aſſent, under his Hand. He cauſed likewiſe all Paſſages between *Hull* and *London* to be ſtopped up, and by that means apprehended a ſervant of Sir JOHN HOTHAM's, going with a Letter to the Parliament concerning the proceedings before mentioned.

The Parliament immediately, upon notice of theſe things, declared their reaſons for *Hull*, and that the ſtopping of Paſſages, and intercepting of Meſſengers or Letters to or from the Parliament, or in their ſervice, was an high breach of the Priviledges of Parlia-

ment, which by the Laws of the Land, and their Proteſtation, they were bound to defend, and puniſh the violators; authorizing, by Ordinance of both Houſes, all Sheriffs, Juſtices, Conſtables, and other Officers, to aid them employed in the ſaid ſervice, for their more ſpeedie, free, and ſafe paſſage; giving Order alſo to the ſaid Officers within the Counties of *York* and *Lincoln*, to ſuppreſſe any Armies raiſed to force *Hull*, or ſtop the paſſages before mentioned, in diſturbance of the Kingdom's peace.

It was voted by them, two days after, that Sir JOHN HOTHAM had done nothing *but in obedience to the Command of both Houſes of Parliament.* Reſolved alſo it was upon the Queſtion, *That this declaring of Sir* JOHN HOTHAM *Traitor, being a Member of the Houſe of Commons, was an high breach of the Priviledge of Parliament.* Reſolved again, *That declaring Sir* JOHN HOTHAM *Traitor, without due Proceſſe of Law, was againſt the Liberty of the Subject, and Laws of the Land.*

An Order of Aſſiſtance was then given to the Earl of *Stamford*, the Lord WILLOUGHBY of *Parham*, Sir EDWARD AYSCOUGH, Sir CHRISTOPHER WRAY, Sir SAMUEL OWFEILD, and Maſter HATCHER, as Committees of both Houſes ſent down to *Hull*, and the two Counties of *York* and *Lincoln*, for ſervice of the Kindom, that all Sheriffs, Juſtices, Maiors, *&c.* ſhould be aſſiſting to them upon all occaſions.

To that *D*eclaration, Votes, and Orders of Aſſiſtance of both Houſes of Parliament, the King, on the fourth of *May*, returned an Anſwer, wherein at large he expreſſes how hainous the affront was, and how much he accounts himſelf injured by the Parliament, in not repairing him againſt HOTHAM; labouring to prove by ancient Statutes there cited, that Sir JOHN HOTHAM's denial of entance to him, was abſolutely high Treaſon by the Law of the Land.

Upon

Upon this ſubject, within the ſpace of one week, two other Declarations and Anſwers paſſed between the King and both Douſes, too large to be here inſerted: but the ſcope of the King's Declarations in general, are to vindicate his own Rights and dignity allowed him as King, by the Laws of the Land; wherein he ſeemeth not to take notice of the preſent occaſion, or ſuch things as are conceived dangers, and thought neceſſary to prevent, by a Parliament ſitting. The Parliament on the other ſide, with all humility, and reverent expreſſions to the Kings Perſon, ſeeming to take no notice of any affront offered or intended to his Majeſtie himſelf, but onely of preſerving *Hull*, the *Militia*, and Navie, out of the hands of thoſe wicked Counſellors, which they conceived to be too prevalent with him, to the danger of ruining the Kingdom and himſelf; both which they laboured to preſerve, and were lawfully called to it by that Authority which belongs to Parliaments, by the Fundamental Conſtitution of Engliſh Government. They deſire to inform the King, that his Intereſt in Towns, Arms, or the Kingdom it ſelf, is not of that kinde that private men have intereſt in their Goods, to ſell or diſpoſe of at pleaſure; but onely as entruſted to him for the good of all: in performance of which truſt, none but the Parliament, while it ſitteth, are or ought to be his Counſellors and directors: that there can be no good or uſeful diſputation, where the Principles are not granted: and it was ever heretofore taken (ſay they) for a certain Principle, That the Parliament ſitting is the onely Judge of what is dangerous to the Common-wealth, and what uſeful, as likewiſe what is lawful in thoſe caſes; which the King, by advice of no private Counſel whatſoever, ought to control, or contradict: which Principle till the King will be pleaſed rightly to apprehend, Diſputations and Declarations are endleſſe, and no true underſtanding between him and his people can be begotten.

Of

Of all theſe things if a Reader deſire to be ſatisfied in particular, he may finde the queſtions all fully ſtated by the Parliament, and the King's deſires expreſſed by himſelf, in two large Declarations; one called the Parliaments third Remonſtrance, dated the 26 of *May*, 1642; and the King's Anſwer to that Remonſtrance.

But things began to go on in an high manner; the Parliament authorizing Sir JOHN HOTHAM to iſſue out Warrants to Conſtables, and other Officers, to come with Arms for the defence of *Hull*: and the King on the other ſide, forbidding any ſuch Warrants, bringing, or training, without an expreſſe Authority under his hand.

The King had ſummoned the Gentry of that County to attend him at the City of *York*, which they accordingly did, upon the 12 of *May*, 1642; where he cauſed, after he had ſpoken ſome few words to them, to be read aloud in their hearing, his Anſwer to the Declaration of both houſes concerning *Hull*, the Anſwer of the Parliament to his two Meſſages concerning *Hull*, together with his Reply to the ſame, and his Meſſage to both houſes, declaring the reaſons why he refuſed to paſſe that Bill of the *Militia*: after which, he proceeded in a Speech to them, wherein he ſtrove to make them apprehend, that traiterous attempts might be againſt his Perſon; and for that reaſon he deſired a Guard of Horſe and Foot to be levied there for his defence. He complained likewiſe that the Committee of Parliament conſiſting of four Members of the houſe of Commons, FERDINANDO Lord FAIRFAX, Sir HUGH CHOLMLEY, Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, and Sir HENRY CHOLMLEY, refuſed to obey his Command: for they being there employed in their own Country by the Parliament, to do ſervice to the State, were commanded by the King to depart out of the County; which they durſt not do, againſt the intention of the Parliament, who employed them

them there. But the King in that Speech to the County, bade them take heed of thoſe four Gentlemen, not knowing what doctrine of diſobedience they might preach to the people, under colour of obeying the Parliament. The King's Speech and Declaration read, ſeemed to be much applauded by many Gentlemen, and their ſervants: as when thoſe things which came from the Parliament were read, the ſame perſons expreſſed much ſcorn, hiſſing, and reviling the language and reaſon of them.

But divers of the Gentry, and greateſt part of the Free-holders, began with ſorrow to conſider that this diviſion of the King from his great Councel, could produce nothing but miſery to the Kingdom, and diſhonour to himſelf: and therefore they humbly anſwered his Propoſitions concerning a Guard, Tha they were willing to do any ſervice, or expoſe their lives to any hazard for the ſafety of his Majeſties Royal Perſon; yet they thought themſelves unworthy to adviſe him in a thing of ſo high conſequence; but humbly beſeeched him to impart the grounds of his fears and jealouſies to his high Court of Parliament, of whoſe loyal care and affections to the King's honour and ſafetie, and proſperitie of the whole Kingdom, they were moſt confident. And in behalf of the four fore-mentioned Members of Parliament lately employed to attend *your Majeſtie* (ſaid they) *from both Houſes, being all Gentlemen of quality and eſtate in the County; we humbly crave your Majeſties leave to expreſſe our confidence in their unſtained loyalty to your Majeſtie, ſo far as that you may ſecurely admit their attendance to negotiate their employments, until they ſhall be recalled by the Parliament. And we do all engage our ſelves for their fidelity, as being moſt aſſured that your Royal Perſon ſhall be ſecure in the General loyalty of your Subjects in this County, without any extraordinary Guard.*

The King was preſented alſo, the next day, with a Petition

Petition from many thouſands, who termed themſelves *peaceably-affected Subjects in the County of* York, in which expreſſing their loyaltie and affection to him, they ſpeak thus: *We are confident that no ſo abſolute and hearty obſervance of your Majeſties juſt commands can be demonſtrated, as when you ſhall in Parliament declare them: If they be divided (which God forbid) our hearts even tremble to conſider the danger, and diminution of the honour and ſafety of your Self and Kingdom; ſince it is clear to every underſtanding, that it is not a divided part of one or ſeveral Counties, can afford that honour and ſafety to your Majeſtie, as the whole Kingdom: Which you may command, no ground of fear or danger remaining, if a good confidence were begot betwixt your Majeſtie and the Parliament; whoſe grave and loyal Counſels are, as we humbly conceive, the viſible way, under God, to put a ſpeedie end to the troubles in* Ireland, *and eſtabliſh your Throne in Righteouſneſſe. And laſtly, we humbly ſupplicate that we may repreſent our unfitneſſe to become Judges betwixt your Majeſtie and Parliament in any thing, or diſpute the Authority of either; which we humbly conceive do fortifie each other,* &c.

The King was not well ſatisfied, or pleaſed with this Petition, but perſiſted ſtill in his former way of raiſing Forces, under the name of a Guard; whilſt the Parliament were voting to maintain thoſe Gentlemen their Committee in the North, in ſuch things as they have done, and ſhall further do in obedience to their commands, for preſervation of the Kingdom's Peace; as alſo to maintain their Ordinance concerning the *Militia*, and to iſſue out Commiſſions into all parts of the Kingdom, and appoint certain days for all the Trained Bands to be exerciſed in each County according to that Ordinance; and that ſome Members might be ſent into the ſeveral Counties, to ſee the Ordinance performed; and the Magazines of thoſe ſeveral Counties in *England* and *Wales* to be forthwith put

put into the power of the Lord Lieutenants of the ſaid Counties, being ſuch as were entruſted by the Parliament. And whereas the King had made Proclamation for all the Gentlemen and others of that County to attend him in Arms as a Guard; the Parliament three days after declared, that it was againſt the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, that any of the Subjects thereof ſhould be commanded by the King to attend him at his pleaſure, but ſuch as are bound thereto by ſpecial ſervice; and that whoſoever, upon pretence of his command, ſhall take Arms, and gather together with others in a warlike manner, to the terrour of the King's people, ſhall be eſteemed diſturbers of the publike peace: and that the Sheriffs of thoſe Counties where ſuch raiſing or drawing of armed men ſhould be, ſhould immediately raiſe the power of the Countie to ſuppreſſe them, and keep the King's Peace according to Law.

So different and directly contrary, at this time, were the Commands of the King and Parliament, in all things, that the Lords in Parliament having been informed that the King was reſolved to adjourn the next Term from *Weſtminſter* to *York*, and had given command to the Lord Keeper to iſſue Proclamations and Writs to that purpoſe, voted that ſuch a removal of the Term, while the Parliament ſate, was illegal; and ordered that the Lord Keeper ſhould not iſſue any Writs, or ſeal any Proclamation tending to that end.

CHAP. IIII.

Many Members of both Houſes leave the Parliament, and repair to the King. Nine of the Lords who firſt went away, are impeached by the Commons, and cenſured by the Peers. The Great Seal is carried away from London *to* York. *Some Votes of Parliament concerning the King's proceedings. A Petition, with nineteen Propoſitions ſent from the Parliament to the King.*

THe King proceeded in his earneſt endeavour of raiſing Forces, as a Guard for his Perſon: which in ſome meaſure he had effected, by many fair expreſſions of love and grace to the people of thoſe Northern Counties, and ſerious Proteſtations of the clearneſſe of his intent from any violation of Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, or making War againſt the Parliament. But the Kingdom was not much affrighted with any Forces which the King could ſo raiſe; nor could any other attempt of his in the Northern parts, make the people fear a Civil War, until they ſaw that great defection of the Parliament Members, which began before the end of *April*, and continued for the greateſt part of that *May*: for at that time did the Lords one after another, and ſometimes by numbers, abandon the Parliament ſitting,

ſitting, and go to the King at *York*; inſomuch that in a very ſhort ſpace, thoſe Lords became the greater number; and their departure began therefore to ſeem leſſe ſtrange, then the conſtant ſitting of the reſt. The Lords who left the Parliament, were theſe: the Duke of *Richmond*, Marqueſſe *Hartford*, the Earls of *Lindſey*, *Cumberland*, *Huntingdon*, *Bath*, *Southampton*, *Dorſet*, *Salisbury* (although *Salisbury*, within few days after, repenting himſelf, made a ſecret eſcape from *York* to *London*, and joyned himſelf again to the Parliament, with whom he continued conſtant ever after) *Northampton*, *Devonſhire*, *Briſtol*, *Weſtmerland*, *Barkeſhire*, *Monmouth*, *Rivers*, *Newcaſtle*, *Dover*, *Carnarvan*, *Newport*; the Lords MATREVERS, WILLOUGHBY of *Eresby*, RICH, HOWARD of *Charleton*, NEWARK, PAGET, CHANDOYS, FAWCONERIDGE, PAWLET, LOVELACE, SAVILE, COVENTRY, MOHUN, DUNSMORE, SEYMOUR, GREY of *Ruthen*, CAPEL. Within the ſame compaſſe of time, many of the houſe of Commons, though no great number, in reſpect of thoſe who continued in that houſe, did likewiſe ſo far break that truſt which was repoſed in them, as to forſake their ſeats in Parliament; ſome of them, as was reported, invited by Letters from the King, and others of their own accord.

At the revolt of ſo many members from the Parliament, the Kingdom in general began to fear; and all that loved the Nations Peace, were in an high meaſure diſmayed; among whom nothing was to be heard, in all meetings and diſcourſes, but ſad preſages of miſery to the Kingdom, if Almighty God did not in a miraculous way prevent it: They concluded that no other way could have been found out to endanger the overthrow of that Parliament, which many open attempts and ſecret conſpiracies could not do: That as the ruine of *England* could not in probability be wrought but by it ſelf; ſo the Parliament

could not be broken (a Prologue to the other) but by her own Members, and that ſentence verified, *Perditio tua ex te.* Though the opinions of men differed concerning the cenſure of thoſe Members; while ſome condemned, others in ſome degree excuſed them, according as affection and private intereſts did lead them: yet concerning the Effects which that Revolt in all probability muſt produce, all rational men concurred in opinion, that nothing but Calamity and Ruine could flow from it. What elſe (ſaid they) can this Revolt do, but nouriſh and increaſe the King's diſaffection to the Parliament? What, but encourage his diſtance from it, and attempts againſt it? What, but ſecure the Iriſh Rebels, and endanger the loſſe of that Kingdom; cheriſh Papiſts, obſtruct Juſtice, and give impunity to all Delinquents? Nothing elſe had power to undermine and ſhake the dignity and reverence belonging to that high Court; whilſt not onely the People by that diminution of their number, were perſwaded to eſteem of it as an imperfect Parliament; but the King might take that advantage of it (which proved true in his ſucceeding Declarations and Writings, what he never did before) as to call them a Faction, or pretended Parliament, and ſuch like.

In cenſuring thoſe Lords and Commons who deſerted the Parliament, the People, as was ſaid before, did much differ. Some conſidering how great the number was, that many of them were of whole eſtates, of good reputation, and able parts, began to to think, or at leaſt to ſay, that the Parliament was not free enough; that thoſe Members (which was alſo their own excuſe) were curbed by a prevalent faction in the Houſes, and over-awed by tumults from the City of *London.* Upon that occaſion, they called to minde in what manner the names of nine and fifty Members of the Houſe of Commons had been poſted up at the Exchange, for diſſenting from the reſt about

about condemning of the Earl of *Strafford* ; beſides what menacing ſpeeches had been given by rude people to ſome Lords, whom they thought ill-affected.

Others anſwered, that although ſuch things had been raſhly and fooliſhly done by ſome unadviſed perſons, yet it could not be feared that any tumults from the Citie would ever violate a Parliament ſitting; and that the tumultuous appearance of ſuch multitudes from the Citie, was rather intended for encouragement and ſecurity of the Parliament againſt ſuch invaſions as might be made upon them, to aw their juſt freedom, and treacherous Conſpiracies which by report were made againſt them by people diſaffected to that high Court ; which that Plot of bringing the Army againſt them formerly, and late reſorts of armed perſons about *White-hall*, gave them cauſe to fear : That no fears of danger could be pretended from the Houſe it ſelf againſt any Member, but ſuch as that Member was bound to undergo and ſuffer, rather then betray ſo great a truſt of the people : That it was to be preſumed, no Member of Parliament who was well-affected to his Country, could ſuffer any thing from the houſe it ſelf ; whoſe ends and counſels muſt needs be ſuppoſed to tend to the publike good, or elſe our Anceſtours, who conſtituted that Frame of Government, were much deceived : That it was very improbable the Liberty of Subjects ſhould be violated by that Court, which is the onely defence and conſerver of it, and without which, it had always ſuffered from Princes, yea, ſuch Princes as were not very wicked.

They alleadged that it was very diſhonourable for thoſe Lords, being the greater number, to pretend fear for deſerting the Parliament : for if it were upon a true diſlike of any proceedings there, they were enow to have ſtayed, and perchance have cured thoſe inconveniences, and too many to have ſuffered in a good Cauſe ; though Honour would command one man

man alone, lawfully called to it, to maintain a truth with any hazard. On the other ſide, they were too many to flee, to encourage the King againſt his Parliament, and thereby foment that diſſention which could produce no good effect.

It was alleadged by many men, that ſome of thoſe Lords were Noble-men of honourable and vertuous repute. Though that were not denied, nor could any certain ſigne from the former demeanours of the Lords in general, ariſe, to diſtinguiſh who were likely to adhere to the Parliament, and who to deſert it (for they were deceived on both ſides, in ſome particulars) yet certainly it was averred, that thoſe Lords whom the people had moſt eſpecially truſted in, as true Patriots, proved to be part of thoſe who continued in the Houſe; and thoſe whom the people in general diſtaſted or diſtruſted, happened to be among thoſe who upon this occaſion forſook the Parliament.

It was likewiſe frequently ſpoken, that thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons who deſerted it, were men generally of as able parts as any that continued there. It was no wonder, (replied others) but very probable that they were ſuch men, and ſuch as had, or thought they had good parts enough to be looked upon by a Prince: for thoſe men (though we ſhould eſteem them all of equal honeſty) were likelieſt to fall off. There is a difference between Wiſdom and good Parts, ſuch as we count Eloquence, Wit, polite Learning, and the like: and that Wiſdom which is leaſt adorned with ſuch dreſſes as theſe, is uſually at ſuch times moſt ſafe in it ſelf, and freeſt from being corrupted; as that Beauty is, which is ſet off with the leaſt witchery of Attire: for that Beauty which is curiouſly decked, as it is moſt ſubject to be tempted by others; ſo it is moſt apt to be proud of it ſelf, and by conſequence, to betray it ſelf to ſuch a temptation as is great enough. So it hath been often ſeen in this caſe (as was obſerved by an old Par-

Parliament-man) that thoſe Gentlemen of fine parts, when other men of a plainer wiſedom have had the honour in a conſtant way to do excellent ſervice for the Common-wealth, have been won from their Countrey's cauſe, as ſoon as Majeſtie hath at all vouchſafed to tempt them, or that perchance their opinion of themſelves hath made them meet or ſeek ſuch a temptation. Beſides that danger of invitation from a King, it hath been too often known, that men of ſuch parts, or that think ſo of themſelves, have been apter to take pet, and grow angry, when any Speech of theirs hath not received that honour which they expected, or any other affront hath been offered to them; and what ſuch an anger may make proud and ambitious ſpirits to do, even againſt their own Country, and the dictates of their Conſcience and Reaſon, the world hath been taught by many examples, ſome of high conſequence, and very remarkable, ſuch as CORIOLANUS the Romane, and JULIAN the Spaniſh General, which for the eminence of the perſons, and extraordinary effects which they wrought in the world, muſt needs fall into Record; when the actions of mean and private men are buried in oblivion. Beſides, there are many, whoſe Callings make them capable of eaſier and greater gratifications from the King then other men; as Lawyers and Divines; who will therefore be apt to lean that way where the preferment lies. Such diſcourſes were frequent in all companies at that time, for different affections did at all meetings beget ſuch argumentative language.

What ſenſe and apprehenſion the Parliament had of ſo many Members forſaking their ſtation, ſhall appear anon, by a Vote paſſed in the Houſe of Commons, and preſented to the Lords by Maſter DENZIL HOLLS, after ſome intervening paſſages have been related.

Whilſt the King encouraged and ſtrengthened by this great acceſſion of reputation to his ſide, purſued his

his deſigne of raiſing Forces in the North; the Parliament, after that they had on the twentieth of *May* petitioned the King to disband ſuch Forces, and rely for his ſecurity (as his Predeceſſours had done) upon the Laws, and affections of his People, contenting himſelf with his uſual and ordinary Guards; declared that otherwiſe they held themſelves bound in duty towards God, and the Truſt repoſed in them by the People, and by the Fundamental Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, to employ their care and utmoſt power to ſecure the Parliament, and preſerve the Kingdom's Peace; and immediately it was voted in Parliament, and reſolved upon the Queſtion, *That it appears that the King, ſeduced by wicked Counſel, intends to make War againſt the Parliament, who in all their conſultations and actions have propoſed no other end unto themſelves, but the care of his Kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyaltie to his Perſon.* It was likewiſe reſolved upon the Queſtion, *That whenſoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a breach of the Truſt repoſed in him by his People, contrary to his Oath, and tending to the diſſolution of this Government.* As alſo, *That whoſoever ſhall ſerve or aſſiſt him in ſuch Wars, are Traitours by the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, and have been ſo adjudged in two Acts of Parliament*; 11 RICH. 2. *and* 1 HEN. 4: *and that ſuch perſons ought to ſuffer as Traitours.*

But thoſe Lords who had forſaken the Parliament continuing ſtill with the King in the Northern parts, the Parliament by an Order of the 30 of *May*, ſummoned nine of them, who firſt had gone away, to appear at *Weſtminſter*; *viz.* the Earls of *Northampton*, *Devonſhire*, *Dover*, and *Monmouth*; the Lords HOWARD of *Charleton*, RICH, GREY of *Ruthen*, COVENTRY, and CAPEL: but they utterly refuſed to come away, returning an Anſwer in writing; which the Parliament judged to be a ſlighting and

and ſcornful Letter: Upon which, a Vote was paſſed againſt them in the houſe of Commons, and preſented on the 15 of *June* to the Lords, by Maſter HOLLIS; with an Oration of his own concerning the importance of the buſineſſe; the greateſt part of which Speech being here inſerted, may give light to the Reader concerning the condition of the Kingdom at that time, and the judgement of the Houſes upon it.

His Speech began thus:

"My Lords, By command of the Knights, Citi-
"zens and Burgeſſes of the houſe of Commons, I
"come hither to your Lordſhips in behalf of the
"Parliament, or rather in behalf of the whole King-
"dom, labouring with much diſtraction, many fears,
"great apprehenſions of evil and miſchief intended
"againſt it, and now hatching and preparing by
"that malignant party, which thirſts after the de-
"ſtruction of Religion, Laws and Liberty; all which
"are folded up, cheriſhed and preſerved in the careful
"boſome of the Parliament.

"It hath ever been the policie of evil Counſellors
"(who are the greateſt enemies we have in the world,
"or can have) to ſtrike at Parliaments, keep off
"Parliaments, break Parliaments, or divide Parlia-
"ments, by making Factions, caſting in Diverſions
"and Obſtructions, to hinder and interrupt the pro-
"ceedings of Parliament; all againſt the Parlia-
"ment.

"Your Lordſhips have had experience of this
"Truth this Parliament; a ſucceſſion of deſignes up-
"on it: Firſt, to aw it, and take away the freedom
"of it by the terrour of an Army; then, to bring
"Force againſt it, actually to aſſault it, and with the
"Sword to cut in ſunder this onely Band which ties
"and knits up King and People, the People among
"themſelves, and the whole frame of this Govern-

"ment in one firm, and I hope indiſſoluble knot of "Peace and Unity.

"God diverted thoſe deſignes, did blowe upon "them; preſently, another is ſet upon, which "was, To obſtruct and hinder our proceedings, that "in the mean time the flame of Rebellion might con-"ſume the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and diſtempers, di-"ſtractions and jealouſies be fomented here at home, "to tear out the bowels of this Kingdom, the Parlia-"ment being diſabled from helping it, by occaſion of "ſo many diverſions, ſo much buſineſſe cut out unto "it, many obſtructions and difficulties, eſpecially "that great one, from whence all the reſt receive coun-"tenance and ſupport, his Majeſtie's abſenting him-"ſelf, not concurring with us, and ſo withdrawing "both his preſence and influence; by which means "ſuch remedies could not be applied as were neceſſa-"ry, and what was done, was done with infinite trou-"ble to the Parliament, and exceſſive charge to the "Subject, double, treble, what otherwiſe would have "ſerved the turn: So the Subject is grieved, and op-"preſſed with charge, and the blame of all is laid "upon the Parliament, and the Parliament unjuſtly "ſaid to be the cauſe of all theſe Evils, which the au-"thors of them had made ſo great, and ſo confirmed "and ſecured by the frequent interruptions of the Par-"liament, that they could not ſuddenly nor eaſily be "ſuppreſſed or removed.

"Well, by God's infinite bleſſing, the Parliament "was in a fair poſſibility to wade thorow this likewiſe; "and though the Night had been black and ſtormy, "ſome Day began to appear: miraculouſly our Armies "have proſpered in *Ireland*, and God be praiſed, the "malevolent practices of theſe Vipers at home, as they "appeared, were in ſome ſort maſtered; and the Par-"liament began to act and operate towards the ſetling "of the great Affairs both of Church and State, and "providing for the defence and ſafety of this King-"dom,

"dom, againſt either forraign Invaſion, or any ſtriving "of the diſaffected party among themſelves.

"Then three ways are together aſſayed for the "weakning and invalidating the proceeding and "power of the Parliament, and making way for the "utter ſubverſion of it.

1. "Force is gathered together at *York*, under pre- "tence of a Guard for His Majeſties Perſon, to make "an oppoſition againſt the Parliament, and by ſtrong "hand to ſupport and protect Delinquents, ſo as no "Order of Parliament can be obeyed, but on the other "ſide is ſlighted and ſcorned, to make the Parliament "of no reputation, to be but *Imago Parliamenti*, a "meer ſhadow, without ſubſtance, without efficacie.

2. "To ſend out in His Majeſties name, and as De- "clarations and Meſſages from him, bitter invectives "againſt the Parliament, to perplex it, and engage it "in expence of time to anſwer them: and beſides, "cunningly to inſinuate and infuſe into the people by "falſe colours and gloſſes, a diſopinion and diſlike of "the Parliament, and if it be poſſible, to ſtir up their "ſpirits to riſe againſt it, to deſtroy it, (and in it, "all other Parliaments) to the ruine of themſelves, "their wives and children.

3. "The third Plot is: The Members are drawn a- "way, and perſwaded to forſake their duty and atten- "dance here, and go down to *York*, thereby to ble- "miſh the actions of both Houſes, as done by a few "and an inconſiderable number, and rather a Party "then a Parliament, and perhaps to raiſe and ſet up "an anti-Parliament there.

"My Lords, this is now the great Deſigne, where- "by they hope by little and little the Parliament "ſhall even bleed to death, and moulder to nothing, "the members dropping away one after another: a "deſperate and dangerous practice, and as your Lord- "ſhips well obſerved (when you were pleaſed to "communicate the buſineſſe to us) an effect of the

" evil Counſels now prevailing, and tending to the " diſſolution of the Parliament, of this Parliament, " which under God muſt be the preſerver of three " Kingdoms, and keep them firm and loyal to their " King, ſubject to his Crown, ſave them from being " turned into a Chaos of diſorder and confuſion, and " made a diſmal ſpectacle of miſery and deſolation; " this Parliament, which is the laſt hope of the long- " oppreſſed, and in other Countries even almoſt " wholly-deſtroyed Proteſtant Religion: this Parli- " ment, which is the onely means to continue us to be " a Nation of freedom, and not of ſlaves; to be ow- " ners of any thing: in a word, which muſt ſtand in " the Gap, to prevent an in-let and inundation of all " miſery and confuſion.

" My Lords, this Parliament they deſire to deſtroy; " but I hope it will deſtroy the deſtroyers, and be a " wall of Fire to conſume them, as it is a wall of Braſſe " to us, to defend King, and Kingdom, us, and all " we have.

" Your Lordſhips wiſely foreſaw this Miſchief, " and as wiſely have endeavoured to prevent it, by " making your Orders to keep your Members here; " as that of the ninth of *April*, and ſeveral other Orders " enjoyning them all to attend; thereby reſtraining " them from repairing to *York*, where the Clouds " were obſerved to gather ſo faſt, threatning a ſtorm, " and ſuch preparations to be made againſt the Parlia- " ment, that it neceſſitated both Houſes to paſſe a " Vote, *That the King, ſeduced by wicked Counſel,* " *intended to make War againſt the Parliament: and all* " *who ſhall ſerve and aſſiſt in ſuch Wars, are declared* " *to be Traitours:* which Vote paſſed the 20 of *May:* " ſo ſetting a mark upon that place, and their opini- " on concerning thoſe who ſhould at this time reſort " thither.

" Yet now, in ſuch a conjuncture of time, when " the Kingdom had never more need of a Parliament, " and

"and the Parliament never more need of all the help "and aſſiſtance, of the beſt endeavour and advice of "every Member; the Safety, and even Being of three "Kingdoms depending on it; after ſuch Orders and "Commands of your Lordſhips Houſe to the contra-"ry; ſuch a Vote of both Houſes; and expreſſely "againſt their Duty; being called thither by Writ "under the Great Seal, which is the King's greateſt "and higheſt Command, and not controllable, nor "to be diſpenſed with by any other Command from "him whatſoever; and called to treat and conſult *de* "*arduis Regni*, the great urging and preſſing affairs of "the Kingdom, never more urgent, never more preſ-"ſing: notwithſtanding all this, theſe Lords, the "Earls of *Northampton*, *Devonſhire*, *Dover*, *Mon-*"*mouth*; the Lords, HOWARD of *Charlton*, RICH, "GREY, COVENTRY, and CAPEL, have left "their ſtations, withdrawn themſelves, and are gone "to *York*; and being ſummoned to appear by an Or-"der of the 30 of *May*, in ſtead of obedience, return "refuſal, by a ſlighting and ſcornful Letter, which "hath been ſo adjudged both by your Lordſhips, and "the Houſe of Commons.

"My Lords, the Houſe of Commons hath like-"wiſe, upon the conſideration and debate of this bu-"ſineſſe, finding it ſo much to concern the ſafety of "the Kingdom, and the very Being of the Parlia-"ment, paſſed this Vote; *That the Departing of theſe* "*nine Lords from the Parliament without leave, after* "*ſuch a time as both Houſes had declared, That the* "*King, ſeduced by wicked Counſel, intended to make* "*War againſt the Parliament; and their ſtill continuing* "*at* York, *notwithſtanding their Summons and Com-*"*mand, is an high Affront and Contempt of both Hou-*"*ſes; and that the ſaid Lords did as much as in them* "*lay, that the ſervice of Parliament might be deſerted,* "*and are juſtly ſuſpected to promote a War againſt the* "*Parliament.*

"The

"The Houſe in further proſecution of their duty "in this Particular, and in purſuance of their Prote- "ſtation, which obliges them to endeavour to bring to "condign puniſhment all ſuch high offenders againſt, "not onely the Priviledges, but the very Eſſence of "Parliament, have ſent me up to impeach theſe "Lords, and deſire that ſpeedy and exemplary Juſtice "may be done upon them.

"And accordingly, *I do here, in the name of the* "*Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes of the Commons* "*Houſe aſſembled in Parliament, and in the name of all* "*the Commons of* England, *Impeach* SPENCER Earl "of *Northampton*, WILLIAM Earl of *Devonſhire*, "HENRY Earl of *Dover*, HENRY Earl of *Mon-* "*mouth*, CHARLES Lord HOWARD of *Charleton*, "ROBERT Lord RICH, CHARLES Lord GREY "of *Ruthen*, THOMAS Lord COVENTRY, and "ARTHUR Lord CAPEL, *for theſe high Crimes* "*and Miſdemeanours following*; viz. *For that, contra-* "*ry to their duty, they being Peers of the Realm, and* "*ſummoned by Writ to attend the Parliament; and con-* "*trary to an Order of the Houſe of Peers of the ninth of* "April *laſt, and ſeveral other Orders requiring the at-* "*tendance of the Members of that Houſe; and after a* "*Vote paſt in both Houſes the twentieth of* May *laſt,* "*That the King, ſeduced by wicked Counſel, intended* "*to make War againſt the Parliament; and that whoſo-* "*ever ſerved or aſſiſted him in that War, was adjudged* "*a Traitour; did notwithſtanding afterwards, in the* "*ſame month of* May, *contemptuouſly, having notice of* "*the ſaid Votes and Orders, withdraw themſelves from* "*the ſaid Houſe of Peers, and repair to the City of* "York, *where the preparations of the ſaid War were,* "*and yet are, in contrivance and agitation; they know-* "*ing of ſuch preparations: and being by an Order of* "*the thirtieth of* May *duely ſummoned by the Houſe of* "*Peers, to make their appearance before that Houſe upon* "*the eighth day of* June *laſt paſt, they refuſed to ap-*

"*pear,*

" *pear, and returned a ſcornful Anſwer by a Letter un-*
" *der their hands, directed to the Speaker of the Lords*
" *Houſe, and remaining there upon Record.*

" *For which Crimes and Miſdemeanours, to the inter-*
" *ruption of the proceedings of Parliament, and great*
" *Affairs of the Kingdom, and tending to the diſſolution*
" *of the Parliament, and diſturbance of the Peace of the*
" *Kingdom; I am commanded, in the name of the ſaid*
" *Commons, to demand of your Lordſhips that the ſaid*
" *Lords may be forthwith put to their Anſwer, and re-*
" *ceive ſpeedy and exemplary puniſhment, according to*
" *their demerits. The Commons ſaving to themſelves*
" *liberty at all times hereafter, to exhibite any other or*
" *further Impeachment or Accuſation againſt the ſaid*
" *Lords, or any of them.*

Upon this Impeachment of the nine Lords, the Houſe of Peers, about a month after, being in their Robes, entred into debate of the ſaid Impeachment; and after divers Speeches made by ſome Lords, ſetring forth the greatneſſe of their Offence, they were cenſured, 1. Never to ſit more as Members of that Houſe. 2. That they ſhould be utterly uncapable of any benefit or priviledges of Parliament. 3. That they ſhould ſuffer Impriſonment during their pleaſure. After which Cenſure, it was concluded that the ſaid Lords ſhould be demanded, in the behalf of both Houſes of Parliament, to ſubmit to the ſaid Cenſure.

About that time, when the Members of both Houſes of Parliament did daily forſake their ſtation, and repair to the King at *York*, another accident fell out, which gave a great wound to the Parliament, and much encouragement to the King in his deſignes; which was the carrying away of the Great Seal of *England* from *London* to *York*.

EDWARD Lord LITTLETON, on whom the King, when the Lord Keeper FINCH fled out of *Eng-*

England, as is before related, had conferred the keeping of the Great Seal (he being before Lord chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, and created a Baron of the Realm) had continued for ſome ſpace of time, after the reſt were gone to *York*, firm to the Parliament in all appearance, and upon all occaſions voted according to the ſenſe of thoſe that ſeemed the beſt affected that way; and among other things, gave his Vote for ſetling the *Militia* by Ordinance of Parliament; inſomuch that there ſeemed no doubt at all to be made of his conſtancy; till at the laſt, before the end of the month of *June*, a young Gentleman, one Maſter *Thomas Eliot*, Groom of the Privie Chamber to the King, was ſent cloſely from *York* to him; who being admitted by the Lord Keeper into his private Chamber, when none elſe were by, ſo handled the matter, whether by perſwaſions, threats, or promiſes, or whatſoever, that after three hours time, he got the great Seal into his hands, and rid poſt with it away to the King at *York*.

The Lord Keeper LITTLETON, after ſerious conſideration with himſelf what he had done, or rather ſuffered, and not being able to anſwer it to the Parliament; the next day, early in the morning, rode after it himſelf, and went to the King.

Great was the complaint at *London* againſt him for that action; nor did the King ever ſhew him any great regard afterwards. The reaſon which the Lord Keeper LITTLETON gave, for parting ſo with the great Seal, to ſome friends of his who went after him to *York*, was this; That the King, when he made him Lord Keeper, gave him an Oath in private, which he took, That whenſoever the King ſhould ſend to him for the great Seal, he ſhould forthwith deliver it. This Oath (as he averred to his friends) his conſcience would by no means ſuffer him to diſpenſe withal; he onely repented (though now too late) that he had accepted the Office upon thoſe terms.

The

The Parliament, to prevent ſo ſad a War, ſent out two Orders; one, to all Sheriffs, Juſtices, and other Officers within 150 miles of the City of *York*, that they ſhould take ſpecial care to make ſtay of all Arms and Ammunition carrying towards *York*, until they have given notice thereof to the Lords and Commons, and received their further direction; and to that purpoſe, to keep ſtrict Watches within their ſeveral limits, to ſearch for, and ſeize all ſuch Arms, and apprehend the perſons going with the ſame: The other was to the Sheriff of *Lancaſhire*, and other adjacent Counties, to ſuppreſſe the raiſing and coming together of any Souldiers, Horſe or Foot, by any Warrant from the King, without the advice of the Lords and Commons in Parliament; as likewiſe to declare all that ſhould execute any ſuch Warrant from the King, diſturbers of the peace of the Kingdom; and to command the Trained Bands to be aſſiſtant to the Sheriffs in that ſervice.

Theſe Orders of the Parliament were immediately anſwered by a Proclamation from the King, forbidding all his Subjects belonging to the Trained Bands, or *Militia* of this Kingdom, to riſe, march, muſter, or exerciſe by vertue of any Order or Ordinance of one or both Houſes of Parliament, without Conſent or Warrant from his Majeſtie. The Parliament notwithſtanding proceed in ſetling the *Militia* of the Kingdom (having made on the ſecond of *June* an Order for thoſe revolted members to return to their duty again before the 16 of that month, under the forfeiture of an hundred pound, to be diſpoſed to the Wars in *Ireland*, beſides undergoing ſuch puniſhment as the Houſes ſhould think fit) and had by this time at many places began to ſettle the ſaid *Militia*.

Upon the ſame ſecond of *June* alſo, the Lords and Commons ſent a Petition to the King, with nineteen Propoſitions; which the King received with

great indignation, as appeared in his Anſwer to them both in general, and in divers Particulars concerning thoſe Propoſitions, as eſteeming himſelf injured in reſtraint of his Power and Prerogative. The Petition and Propoſitions were as followeth.

The humble Petition and Advice of both Houſes of Parliament; with Nineteen Propoſitions, and the Concluſion ſent unto His Majeſtie the ſecond of *June*, 1642.

YOur Majeſties moſt humble and faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, having nothing in their thoughts and deſires, more precious and of higher eſteem (next to the honour and immediate Service of God) then the juſt and faithful performance of their duty to Your Majeſtie, and this Kingdom; And being very ſenſible of the great diſtractions and diſtempers, and of the imminent dangers and calamities which thoſe diſtractions and diſtempers are like to bring upon Your Majeſtie and Your Subjects; all which have proceeded from the ſubtil informations, miſchievous practices, and evil counſels of men diſaffected to Gods true Religion, Your Majeſties Honour and Safety, and the publike Peace and Proſperity of Your People, after a ſerious obſervation of the cauſes of thoſe Miſchiefs; Do in all humility and ſincerity preſent to Your Majeſty their moſt dutiful Petition and Advice, that out of Your Princely Wiſdom, for the eſtabliſhing Your Own Honour and Safety, and gracious tenderneſſe of the Welfare and Security of Your Subjects and Dominions, You will be pleaſed to grant and accept theſe their humble Deſires and Propoſitions, as the moſt neceſſary effectual Means, through God's bleſſing, of removing thoſe Jealouſies and Differences which have unhappily fallen betwixt You and Your People, and procuring both Your Majeſtie and Them a conſtant courſe of Honour, Peace, and Happineſſe.

The

The Propoſitions.

1. That the Lords and others of Your Majeſties Privie Councel, and ſuch great Officers and Miniſters of State, either at home, or beyond the Seas, may be put from Your Privie Councel, and from thoſe Offices and Employments, excepting ſuch as ſhall be approved of by both Houſes of Parliament: And that the Perſons put into the Places and Employment of thoſe that are removed, may be approved of by both Houſes of Parliament: And that Privie Counſellors ſhall take an Oath for the due execution of their places, in ſuch form as ſhall be agreed upon by both Houſes of Parliament.

2. That the great Affairs of the Kingdom may not be concluded or tranſacted by the advice of private men, or by any unknown or unſworn Counſellors; but that ſuch matters as concern the Publike, and are proper for the high Court of Parliament, which is Your Majeſties great and ſupreme Councel, may be debated, reſolved and tranſacted onely in Parliament, and not elſewhere: and ſuch as ſhall preſume to do any thing to the contrary, ſhall be reſerved to the cenſure and judgement of Parliament: And ſuch other matters of State as are proper for Your Majeſties Privie Councel, ſhall be debated and concluded by ſuch of the Nobility and others, as ſhall from time to time be choſen for that place, by approbation of both Houſes of Parliament. And that no publike Act concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom which are proper for Your Privie Councel, may be eſteemed of any validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unleſſe it be done by the Advice and Conſent of the major part of Your Councel, atteſted under their hands. And that Your Councel may be limited to a certain number, not exceeding twenty five, nor under fifteen. And if any Councellours place happen to be void

in the interval of Parliament, it ſhall not be ſupplied without the aſſent of the major part of the Councel; which voice ſhall be confirmed at the next ſitting of Parliament, or elſe to be void.

3. That the Lord high Steward of *England*, Lord high Conſtable, Lord Chancellour, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Treaſurer, Lord Privie Seal, Earl Marſhal, Lord Admiral, Warden of the Cinque-Ports, chief Governour of *Ireland*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, Maſter of the Wards, Secretaries of State, two Chief Juſtices, and Chief Baron, may always be choſen with the approbation of both Houſes of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliaments, by aſſent of the major part of the Councel, in ſuch manner as is before expreſt in the choice of Counſellours.

4. That he or they unto whom the Government and Education of the King's Children ſhall be committed, ſhall be approved of by both houſes of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliament, by the aſſent of the major part of the Councel, in ſuch manner as is before expreſt in the choice of Counſellours: And that all ſuch Servants as are now about them, againſt whom both Houſes ſhall have any juſt exceptions, ſhall be removed.

5. That no Marriage ſhall be concluded or treated for any of the King's Children, with any forraign Prince, or other perſon whatſoever abroad or at home, without the conſent of Parliament, under the Penalty of a *Præmunire* unto ſuch as ſhall be concluded, or treat any Marriage as aforeſaid: And that the ſaid Penalty ſhall not be pardoned or diſpenſed with, but by the conſent of both houſes of Parliament.

6. That the Laws in force againſt Jeſuites, Prieſts, and Popiſh Recuſants, be ſtrictly put in execution, without any Toleration or Diſpenſation to the contrary: And that ſome more effectual courſe may be enacted by Authority of Parliament, to diſable them from

from making any diſturbance in the State, or eluding the Law by Truſts or otherwiſe.

7. That the Votes of Popiſh Lords in the houſe of Peers may be taken away, ſo long as they continue Papiſts: And that Your Majeſtie will conſent to ſuch a Bill as ſhall be drawn, for the education of the children of Papiſts by Proteſtants, in the Proteſtant Religion.

8. That Your Majeſtie will be pleaſed to conſent that ſuch a Reformation be made of the Church-Government and Liturgie, as both Houſes of Parliament ſhall adviſe; wherein they intend to have Conſultations with Divines, as is expreſſed in their Declaration to that purpoſe: And that Your Majeſtie will contribute Your beſt aſſiſtance to them, for the raiſing of a ſufficient Maintenance for preaching Miniſters thorow the Kingdom: And that Your Majeſtie will be pleaſed to give Your Conſent to Laws for the taking away of Innovations, and Superſtition, and of Pluralities, and againſt ſcandalous Miniſters.

9. That Your Majeſtie will be pleaſed to reſt ſatisfied with that courſe that the Lords and Commons have appointed for ordering of the *Militia*, until the ſame ſhall be further ſetled by a Bill: And that Your Majeſtie will recal Your Declarations and Proclamations againſt the Ordinance made by the Lords and Commons concerning it.

10. That ſuch Members of either Houſes of Parliament as have during this preſent Parliament been put out of any Place and Office, may either be reſtored to that Place and Office, or otherwiſe have ſatisfaction for the ſame, upon the Petition of that Houſe whereof he or they are members.

11. That all Privie Councellours and Judges may take an Oath, the Form whereof to be agreed on and ſetled by Act of Parliament, for the maintaining of the Petition of Right, and of certain Statutes made by this Parliament, which ſhall be mentioned by both Houſes

Houſes of Parliament : And that an enquiry of all the breaches and violations of thoſe Laws, may be given in charge by the Juſtices of the Kings Bench every Term, and by the Judges of Aſſize in their Circuits, and Juſtices of the Peace at the Seſſions, to be preſented and puniſhed according to Law.

12. That all the Judges, and all the Officers placed by approbation of both houſes of Parliament, may hold their places *quam diu bene ſe geſſerint.*

13. That the Juſtice of Parliament may paſſe upon all Delinquents, whether they be within the Kingdom, or fled out of it : And that all perſons cited by either Houſe of Parliament, may appear, and abide the cenſure of Parliament.

14. That the general Pardon offered by Your Majeſtie, may be granted with ſuch Exceptions as ſhall be adviſed by both Houſes of Parliament.

15. That the Forts and Caſtles of this Kingdom may be put under the Command and Cuſtodie of ſuch perſons as Your Majeſtie ſhall appoint, with the approbation of Your Parliament ; and in the intervals of Parliament, with approbation of the major part of the Councel, in ſuch manner as is before expreſſed in the choice of Councellours.

16. That the extraordinary Guards and Military Forces now attending Your Majeſtie, may be removed and diſcharged ; and that for the future You will raiſe no ſuch Guards or extraordinary Forces, but according to the Law, in caſe of actual Rebellion or Invaſion.

17. That Your Majeſtie will be pleaſed to enter into a more ſtrict Allegiance with the States of the United Provinces, and other Neighbour Princes and States of the Proteſtant Religion, for the defence and maintenance thereof againſt all deſignes and attempts of the Pope and his adherents to ſubvert and ſuppreſſe it ; whereby Your Majeſtie will obtain a great acceſſe of ſtrength and reputation, and Your Subjects be

be much encouraged and enabled in a Parliamentary way, for Your aid and aſſiſtance in reſtoring Your Royal Siſter and her Princely Iſſue to thoſe Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them, and relieving the other diſtreſſed Proteſtant Princes who have ſuffered in the ſame Cauſe.

18. That Your Majeſtie will be pleaſed, by Act of Parliament, to clear the Lord *Kymboiton*, and the five Members of the Houſe of Commons, in ſuch manner, that future Parliaments may be ſecured from the conſequence of that evil preſident.

19. That Your Majeſtie will be graciouſly pleaſed to paſſe a Bill for reſtraining Peers made hereafter from ſitting or voting in Parliament, unleſſe they be admitted thereunto with the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament.

And theſe our humble Deſires being granted by Your Majeſtie, we ſhall forthwith apply our ſelves to regulate Your preſent Revenue in ſuch ſort as may be for Your beſt advantage, and likewiſe to ſettle ſuch an ordinary and conſtant increaſe of it, as ſhall be ſufficient to ſupport Your Royal Dignity in Honour and Plenty, beyond the proportion of any former Grants of the Subjects of this Kingdom to Your Majeſties Royal Predeceſſours. We ſhall likewiſe put the Town of Hull *into ſuch hands as Your Majeſtie ſhall appoint, with the conſent and approbation of Parliament, and deliver up a juſt account of all the Magazine, and chearfully employ the uttermoſt of our endeavours in the real expreſſion and performance of our moſt dutiful and loyal affections, to the preſerving and maintaining the Royal Honour, Greatneſſe, and Safety of Your Majeſtie, and Your Poſterity.*

Hen. Elſynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

To

To theſe Propoſitions ſent from the Parliament, the King returned ſuch an Anſwer, as ſhewed that he was much diſpleaſed with the whole Buſineſſe: For before his particular Anſwers to the ſeveral Propoſitions, he complaineth in general, and thoſe very ſharp, expreſſions of the method of their proceedings againſt him: and that the Cabaliſts of this buſineſſe (for ſo he calls them) have uſed great art and ſubtilty againſt him, firſt to ſtrengthen themſelves with unlawful power, before they make their illegal demands. He taxes them, that firſt they had removed the Law it ſelf, as a rub in their way, and preſſed their own Orders and Ordinances upon the people (tending to a pure arbitrary power) as Laws, and required obedience to them, without the conſent or concurrence of himſelf. That they had wreſted from him the command of the *Militia*, (a thing inherent in his Crown) countenanced the Treaſon of HOTHAM againſt him, and directed to the people invectives againſt his Government, to weaken his juſt authority and due eſteem among his Subjects; caſting upon him aſperſions of a ſtrange nature, as, that he ſhould favour a Rebellion in the bowels of his Kingdom. He complains likewiſe that they had broached (for ſo he calls it) a new Doctrine, namely, that the King is bound to paſſe all Laws that ſhall be offered to him by both Houſes of Parliament: a point of policie fit for their preſent buſineſſe, as deſtructive to all his Rights. That they have overawed his Subjects, in ſtifling all Petitions that did not pleaſe them; and filled the peoples ears with needleſſe fears, and jealouſies, and ſuch like things, before they thought his Majeſtie ſufficiently prepared to take thoſe bitter Pills. For (ſaith he) *if they had unſeaſonably vented ſuch Propoſitions, as the wiſdom and modeſtie of their Predeceſſours never thought fit to offer to any of Our Progenitours, nor We in honour or regard to Our Regal Authority (which God hath intruſted Us with for the good of Our People) could receive without*

out juſt indignation (for ſuch many of the preſent Propoſitions are) their hopes would ſoon have been blaſted, and thoſe perſons to whom Offices, Honours, Power, and Commands were deſigned, by ſuch ill timing of their buſineſſe, would have failed of their expectation, not without a brand upon the Attempt. Therefore he ſaith, that they had made before-hand thoſe fore-named preparations. The King ſeems to doubt likewiſe, becauſe the Parliament have not told him that this is all they deſire of him, that theſe Propoſitions are probably intended to make way for a Superfetation of a (yet) higher nature. And in the Propoſitions in general he obſerves, that the Contrivers of them (the better to advance their true ends) diſguiſed as much as they could, their intents with a mixture of ſome things really to be approved by every honeſt man, others ſpecious and popular, and ſome already granted by him: All which (ſaith he) are cunningly twiſted, and mixed with other things of their main deſigne of ambition and private intereſt.

But the King deſires not to be underſtood ſo, as if he intended to fix this deſigne upon both or either Houſe of Parliament: for he utterly profeſſeth againſt it, being moſt confident of the loyalty, good affections, and integrity of the intentions of that great Body, and knowing well that very many of both Houſes were abſent, and many diſſented from all thoſe particulars of which he complains: but that he believes, and accordingly profeſſes to all the world, that the malignity of this deſigne hath proceeded from the ſubtil informations, miſchievous practices, and evil counſels of ſome ambitious turbulent ſpirits, diſaffected to God's true Religion (uſing their own language) the Unity of the profeſſours thereof, his Honour and Safety, and the publike peace and proſperity of the people. (And ſuch other like General expreſſions.)

In particular, the King expreſſed himſelf with great

indignation againſt ten of their Propoſitions, which were the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 15, 16, 19: averring, that if they did intend the eſtabliſhment of his honour, together with the ſecurity of his people (as their profeſſion is) they would not offer him ſuch Propoſitions: for that Profeſſion, joyned to theſe Propoſitions, appeared to his judgement as a mockery and ſcorn.

He averreth further, that their Demands are ſuch, as that he were unworthy of that Royal deſcent from ſo many famous Anceſtours, unworthy of the Truſt repoſed in him by the Laws, if he ſhould deveſt himſelf of ſuch a power ſo inherent in his Crown, and aſſume others into it; proteſting, that if he were both vanquiſhed, and a priſoner, in worſe condition then any the moſt unfortunate of his predeceſſours had ever been reduced unto, he would never ſtoop ſo lowe as to grant thoſe demands, and to make himſelf of a King of *England*, a Duke of *Venice*.

The ſeveral Anſwers that the King made, and Arguments that he uſed to each ſeveral branch of thoſe Propoſitions, are too large to be here inſerted, and may be read by thoſe that would be further informed, in the printed Book of Parliament-Declarations and Ordinances.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

An Order for the bringing in of Plate and Money into Guild-hall. The King's Declaration to the Lords about him: Their Profeſſion and Proteſtation to him. The King layeth Siege to Hull; *but raiſeth it again. The Earl of* Warwick *taketh poſſeſſion of the Navie, as Lord Admiral. The Earl of* Eſſex *is voted in Parliament to be Lord General of all their Forces.*

ON the tenth day of *June* following, an Order was made by both Houſes of Parliament for bringing in of Money and Plate, to maintain Horſe, Horſe-men and Arms for Preſervation of the Publike Peace, and defence of the King's Perſon (for that the Parliament in their expreſſions always joyned together with their own ſafety) and both Houſes of Parliament. Wherein it was expreſſed, that whoſoever ſhould bring in any Money or Plate, or furniſh any Horſe-men and Arms for that purpoſe, ſhould have their Money repayed with Intereſt, according to eight in the hundred; for which both Houſes of Parliament did engage the Publike Faith.

Four Treaſurers were ordained, whoſe Acquittances for the receipt of any Sum, ſhould be a ſufficient ground to the Lenders to demand their Money and

Plate again with the Intereſt belonging thereunto. The Treaſurers were Sir JOHN WOLLASTON Knight and Alderman of *London*, Alderman TOWES, Alderman WARNER, and Alderman ANDREWES. Commiſſaries alſo were appointed to value the Horſe and Arms which ſhould be furniſhed for that ſervice.

It was deſired in that Order, that all men reſident in or about *London*, or within 80 miles, would bring in their money, Plate, or Horſe within a fortnight after notice; and they that dwell farther off, within three weeks: and that thoſe who intended to contribute within the time limited, but were not for the preſent provided of money or Horſe, ſhould ſubſcribe, that it might be ſoon known what proviſion would be for effecting of that great and important Service. And in concluſion, it was declared, that whatſoever was brought in, ſhould be imployed to no other purpoſes but thoſe before mentioned; the maintenance of the Proteſtant Religion, the King's Perſon, dignity and authority, the Laws of the Land, the Peace of the Kingdom, and Priviledges of Parliament.

Whileſt this Order was drawing up, advertiſement by Letters was given to the Parliament, that the Crown-Jewels were pawned at Amſteldam, and other places of the Netherlands; upon which money was taken up, and Warlike Ammunition provided in thoſe Parts, as Battering-pieces, Culverins, Field-pieces, Morter-pieces, Granadoes, with great ſtore of powder, piſtols, carabines, great ſaddles, and ſuch like. Whereby the Parliament thought they could not otherwiſe judge, then that the King did plainly intend a War againſt them, and had deſigned it long before.

They received intelligence at the ſame time, that the King had ſent a Commiſſion of *Array* into *Leiceſterſhire*, directed to the Earl of *Huntington*, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and Mr HENRY HASTINGS, ſecond ſon to the

the Earl of *Huntington* (for the Lord HASTINGS eldeſt ſon to that Earl, did then adhere to the Parliament) which three were chief in the Commiſſion; but many other Knights and Gentlemen of that County were named in it. Together with this Commiſſion of Array, the King ſent a Letter alſo, containing the reaſons of it, wherein he complaineth that the Parliament, by their Ordinance for the *Militia*, would deveſt him of that power which is properly inherent in his Crown. And for the occaſion and reaſon of that Commiſſion, he urgeth a Declaration of their own, uſing their very expreſſions and words in his Letter; that whereas it hath been declared by Votes of both Houſes of Parliament, the fifteenth of *March* laſt, that the Kingdom hath of late been, and ſtill is in evident and imminent danger, both from enemies abroad, and a Popiſh diſconted party at home; he concludes, that for the ſafeguard both of his own Perſon and People, there is an urgent and inevitable neceſſity of putting his people into a poſture of defence, *&c.* Thus did the Parliaments Prologue to their Ordinance of *Militia*, ſerve the King's turn for his Commiſſion of Array, *totidem verbis*. The copie of which Commiſſion and Letter coming into the hands of the Parliament, it was reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, that *this Commiſſion of Array for* Leiceſter *is againſt Law, and againſt the Liberty and Property of the Subject*: and reſolved again upon the Queſtion, within two days after, *That all thoſe that are actours in putting the Commiſſion of Array in execution, ſhall be eſteemed as diſturbers of the Kingdoms Peace, and betrayers of the Liberty of the Subject.* It was alſo ordered by both Houſes, that this Commiſſion of *Array*, and the foremention Votes, ſhould be forthwith printed, and publiſhed thorow the Kingdom.

The King was not wanting to his own deſigne in the mean time, and whatſoever might give countenance

nance to the buſineſſe he had in hand: but made a ſhort Declaration to the Lords who then attended him at *York*, and others his Privie Councel there, in theſe words:

We do declare, that We will require no obedience from you, but what is warranted by the known Laws, as We expect that you ſhall not yeeld to any Commands not legally grounded, or impoſed by any other. We will defend all you, and all ſuch as ſhall refuſe any ſuch Commands, whether they proceed from Votes and Orders of both Houſes, or any other way, from all danger whatſoever. We will defend the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed by the Laws, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of England, *and juſt Priviledges of all the three Eſtates of Parliament; and ſhall require no further obedience from you, then as We accordingly ſhall perform the ſame. We will not (as is falſely pretended) engage you in any War againſt the Parliament, except it be for Our neceſſary defence againſt ſuch as do inſolently invade, or attempt againſt Us and Our Adherents.*

Upon this Declaration of the King, thoſe Lords and others of his Councel made a Promiſe to him, and ſubſcribed it with their hands, as followeth.

We do engage our ſelves not to obey any Orders or Commands whatſoever, not warranted by the known Laws of the Land. We engage our ſelves to defend Your Majeſties Perſon, Crown and Dignity, with Your juſt and legal Prerogative, againſt all Perſons and Power whatſoever. We will defend the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed by the Law of the land, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of England, *and juſt Priviledges of Your Majeſtie, and both Houſes of Parliament. Laſtly, we engage our ſelves not to obey any Rule, Order or Ordinance whatſoever, concerning any* Militia, *that hath not the Royal Aſſent.*

Subſcribed

Subſcribed by

L. Keeper, D. of *Richmond*, Ma. *Hertford*, E. of *Linſey*, E. of *Cumberland*, E. of *Huntington*, E. of *Bath*, E. of *Southampton*, E of *Dorſet*, E. of *Saliſbury*, E. of *Northampton*, E. of *Devonſhire*, E. of *Briſtol*, E. of *Weſtmerland*, E of *Barkeſhire*, E. of *Monmouth*, E. of *Rivers*, E. of *Newcaſtle*, E. of *Dover*, E. of *Carnarvan*, E. of *Newport*, L. MOWBRAY and MATREVERS, L. WILLOUGHBY of *Eresby*, L. RICH, L. CHARLES HOWARD of *Charleton*, L. NEWARK, L. PAGET, L. CHANDOYS, L. FALCONBRIDGE, L. PAULET, L. LOVELACE, L. COVENTRY, L. SAVILE, L. MOHUN, L. DUNSMORE, L. SEYMOUR, L. GREY of *Ruthen*, L. FAWLKLAND, the Controller, Secretary NICHOLAS, Sir JOHN CULPEPER, Lord Chief Juſtice BANKS.

The King immediately wrote a Letter to the Lord Maior of *London*, the Aldermen and Sheriffs, forbidding by expreſſe Command any Contribution of Money or Plate, toward the raiſing of any Arms whatſoever for the Parliament; and that they ſhould lend no Money, unleſſe toward the relief of *Ireland*, or payment of the Scots. He publiſhed then a Declaration to all his Subjects, inveighing bitterly againſt the Parliament, for laying a falſe and ſcandalous imputation upon him of raiſing War againſt the Parliament, or levying Forces to that end: in which he invites all his loving Subjects, to prevent his own danger, and the danger of the Kingdom from a malignant party (taking up the Parliaments language) to contribute Money or Plate to him, and they ſhall be repayed, with conſideration of eight in the hundred. And immediately upon it made a Profeſſion before thoſe forementioned Lords and Councellours about him (calling God to witneſſe in it) diſavowing any preparations

tions or intentions to levie War againſt the Parliament: upon which, thoſe forementioned Lords, and others, then preſent at *York*, made this Declaration and Profeſſion, ſubſcribed under their hands.

We whoſe names are under-written, in obedience to His Majeſties Deſire, and out of the Duty which we owe to His Majeſties Honour, and to Truth, being here upon the place, and witneſſes of His Majeſties frequent and earneſt Declarations and Profeſſions of His abhorring all deſignes of making War upon the Parliament; and not ſeeing any colour of Preparations or Counſels that might reaſonably beget the belief of any ſuch Deſigne, do profeſſe before God, and teſtifie to all the world, that we are fully perſwaded that His Majeſtie hath no ſuch intention; but that all his endeavours tend to the firm and conſtant ſettlement of the true Proteſtant Religion, and the juſt Priviledges of Parliament, the liberty of the Subject, the Law, Peace and Proſperity of this Kingdom.

The King ſtrengthned with Arms and Ammunition from *Holland*, and more ſtrengthened (for as yet he wanted hands to weild thoſe Arms) by this Proteſtation of Lords in his behalf concerning his intention of not making War againſt the Parliament, whereby the people might more eaſily be drawn to ſide with him, proceeded in his buſineſſe with great policie and indefatigable induſtry. His Pen was quick in giving anſwer to all Petitions or Declarations which came from the Parliament; and with many ſharp expoſtulations, in a well-compiled Diſcourſe, on the 17 of *June*, anſwered a Petition of the Parliament; which Petition was to this effect, that he would not disjoyn his Subjects in their duty to himſelf and Parliament, deſtroying the Eſſence of that high Court; which was preſented to him at *York* by the Lord HOWARD, Sir HUGH CHOLMELY, and Sir

Sir PHILIP STAPLETON: And within three weeks, both in his own Perſon, and by his Meſſengers, with Speeches, Proclamations, and Declarations, advanced his buſineſſe in a wonderful manner. At *Newark* he made a Speech to the Gentry of *Nottinghamſhire* in a loving and winning way, commending their affections toward him; which was a great part of perſwaſion for the future, coming from a King himſelf. Another Speech he made at *Lincoln*, to the Gentry of that County, full of Proteſtations concerning his good intentions, not onely to them, but to the whole Kingdom, the Laws and Liberties of it. In that ſhort time alſo, by the help of many ſubtil Lawyers, whom he had about him, he returned a very long and particular Anſwer, with arguing the caſe in all points, to a Declaration which the Parliament had before made againſt the Commiſſion of *Array*, expounding that Statute 5 HEN. 4, whereupon that Commiſſion was ſuppoſed to be warranted. The proofs and arguments on both ſides, are to be read at large in the Records, or in the printed Book of Ordinances and Declarations, where a Reader may ſatiſfie his own judgement. Within that time alſo the King ſent out a Proclamation againſt levying Forces without his Command, urging Laws and Statutes for it: And another long Proclamation to inform the people of the legality of his Commiſſions of *Array*, and to command obedience to them. Another he ſent forth againſt the forcible ſeizing or removing any Magazine of Ammunition of any County; and another, forbidding all relieving or ſuccouring of *Hull* againſt him. Upon which, the Parliament declared, that thoſe Proclamations, without their aſſent, were illegal; and forbade all Sheriffs, Maiors, *&c.* to proclaim them, and all Parſons and Curates to or publiſh them.

From *York* the King removed to *Beverley*; from whence he ſent a Meſſage to both Houſes, and a Pro-

clamation concerning his going to *Hull*, to take it in; requiring, before his journey, that it might be delivered up to him. But that Meſſage of his came to the Houſe of Peers, after they had agreed upon a Petition, which was drawn up, to move the King to a good accord with his Parliament, to prevent a Civil War; to be carried to him, and preſented at *Beverley*, by the Earl of *Holland*, Sir JOHN HOLLAND, and Sir PHILIP STAPLETON. That very Petition ſeemed to them ſo full an anſwer to the King's Meſſage, that both Houſes reſolved to give no other anſwer to that Meſſage, but the ſaid Petition. But immediately after, a Declaration was publiſhed by both Houſes of Parliament, for the preſervation and ſafety of the Kingdom, and the Town of *Hull*; with aſſurance of both Houſes to ſatisfie all loſſe ſuſtained by any ſervice done for the ſafety of the ſaid Town, by reaſon of overflowing of water upon the grounds there, to all perſons who ſhould be found faithful in their ſeveral ſervices.

The King continued reſolute in his intention of gaining *Hull*: By what means he attempted it, and how thoſe attempts proved to be fruſtrate, is now the ſubject of a ſhort Diſcourſe.

The Town of *Hull* was not more conſiderable to the Kingdom as a Maritime and ſtrong place, then it was now made remarkable to the world in many high and famous circumſtances of this Civil War: for which cauſe, I ſhall the more particularly inſiſt upon it.

Hull was the place which (being intruſted with ſo rich a Magazine of Ammunition) did probably allure the King to forſake a Parliament ſitting at *London*, and viſite the North. *Hull* was the place where the King in perſon did firſt finde his Commands denied, and his attempts reſiſted in an actual way; which proved the ſubject of ſo many Declarations and Diſputations of State and Government: and *Hull* is the place which muſt now bear the firſt brunt of his armed indignation.

The

The King with an Army of three thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, was removed from *York* to *Beverley*, a Town diſtant from *Hull* ſix miles; and intending to beſiege *Hull* by Land (expecting alſo that Sir JOHN PENINGTON with ſome of his ſhips ſhould ſtop the paſſages, and cut of proviſions from relieving the Town by Sea, though that expectation were made fruſtrate by the Earl of *Warwick* his ſeizing on the Navie Royal) proclaimed that none, on pain of death, ſhould convey any proviſion or relief thither. He diſpoſed many men in cutting of Trenches, to divert the current of freſh water that ran to *Hull*, and ſent two hundred horſe into *Lincolnſhire* under the command of the Lord WILLOUGHBY ſon to the Earl of *Lindſey*, and Sir THOMAS GLENHAM, to ſtop all relief of it from *Burton* upon *Humber*.

Sir JOHN HOTHAM perceiving the King's intentions and endeavours, and knowing him to be in perſon within an hour and halfs march of the Town, having firſt ſent three Meſſengers, one after another, with humble Petitions to him, who were all laid faſt by the King, and not ſuffered to return; called a Councel of War, in which it was debated, Whether or not they ſhould permit the enemies to march neer the Town with their Ordnance, holding them play from off the Walls and Out-works, until the Tide came to its hight, and then draw up the Sluce, and let them ſwim for their lives. But a more merciful advice prevailed, which was, (for prevention of ſo many deaths) to draw up the Sluce preſently, having the advantage of a Spring-tide, and drown all the Countrey about *Hull*. But Sir JOHN HOTHAM, before it was done, gave the inhabitants and owners of land thereabout ſufficient and timely notice to remove their Cattel, and all their goods, and aſſured them (which was ratified by the Parliament upon the Publike Faith) that whatſoever damage they received

thereby, ſhould be repaired by the authority of Parliament, out of the eſtates of thoſe perſons who had been moſt active and aſſiſtant to the King in that deſigne.

Sir JOHN by Letters informed the Parliament in what condition the Town was, deſiring onely (ſo it might ſpeedily be done) a ſupply of Money and Victuals, with five hundred men. Upon which, by command of Parliament, Drums were beat up in *London*, and other adjacent places, for Souldiers to be ſent to *Hull* by Sea. The Earl of *Warwick* was deſired by the Houſes to ſend two of the King's ſhips from the *Downs* to *Hull*, to do as Sir JOHN HOTHAM ſhould direct for his beſt aſſiſtance. And Sir JOHN MELDRUM a Scotiſh Gentleman, an expert and brave Commander, was appointed to aſſiſt Sir JOHN in that ſervice.

The King's Army were not confident to carry the Town by plain force, making their approaches with great difficulty and diſadvantage, and thoſe for the moſt part in the night-time, when undiſcovered they burnt two Mills about the Town; they therefore had recourſe to ſubtilty; and knowing ſome within the Walls fit for their purpoſe, a Plot was therefore laid to fire the town in four places, which whilſt the ſouldiers and inhabitants were buſie in quenching, two thouſand of the King's Army ſhould aſſault the walls. The ſigne to thoſe within the town, when to fire thoſe places, was, when they diſcerned a fire on *Beverley*-Minſter, this ſhould be aſſurance to them within the town that they without were ready for the aſſault. But this treaſon had no ſucceſſe, being diſcovered by one of the inſtruments, and confeſſed to Sir JOHN HOTHAM. Many particular ſervices were done both by Land and Water, by Barks and Boats upon the River *Humber*.

The townſ men of *Hull* were ſo far provoked by this treacherous deſigne of their enemies, and ſo much animated againſt them, that they all entered into Pay; and now the Walls could not contain them; but five hundred

hundred of the town, conducted by Sir JOHN MELDRUM, iſſued out, about the end of *July*, upon their beſiegers; who ſeeing their approach, prepared couragiouſly to receive and encounter them: but they were but a ſmall part of the King's Forces which were reſolute to fight; the other part, which conſiſted of the Trained Bands of that Countrey, were not forward to be engaged againſt their neighbours: the King's Horſe, and moſt reſolute aſſiſtants, ſeeing themſelves deſerted by the Foot, retired as faſt as they could to *Beverley*: but Sir JOHN MELDRUM purſued them, ſlew two, and took thirty priſoners in the purſuit. And not long after, when the ſupplies from *London* arrived at *Hull*, Sir JOHN MELDRUM, with a greater Force, made ſo fierce a ſally upon his enemies, as cauſed moſt of the Leaguer to retire diſorderly, one and twenty of them being ſlain, and fifteen taken priſoners. Sir JOHN MELDRUM following the advantage of his ſucceſſe with a ſwift motion, arrived ſuddenly at a Leaguer-town called *Aulby*, between three and four miles from *Hull*; where the King's magazine was kept in a Barn, in which was a great quantity of Ammunition, Powder, and Fire-bals, and certain Engineers employed there for making of Fire-works: Sir JOHN ſuddenly ſet upon it in the night, drove away the Guard, who conſiſted moſt of Trained Bands, and other *York-ſhire* men, bearing no great affection to the War, and therefore ran more ſpeedily away, leaving their Arms behinde them: mu of the Ammunition and other Arms they took away with them, fired the Barn, the Powder, and Fire-works, and what elſe they could not carry with them, and returned ſafely again into *Hull*.

The King calling a Councel of War, and conſidering the ill ſucceſſe of his proceedings, and the preciouſneſſe of that time which he conſumed there, by their advice reſolved to break up his ſiege before *Hull*, and march away; the chief men about him laying the

the fault of this failing upon the unskilfulneſſe of the Countrey Captains, and cowardice of the Trained Bands. The King probably might have ſped better, if Sir JOHN PENINGTON could have brought part of the Navie to his aſſiſtance: but that was ſeized by the Earl of *Warwick*; of which it will be now time to ſpeak more particularly.

The Earl of *Warwick* had in former times been ſo great a lover of the Sea-ſervice, and ſo well experienced in thoſe affairs, being beſides a man of Courage, of Religious life, and known Fidelity to his Country, that among all the Noble-men at this time, he was eſteemed by the Parliament (in this important buſineſſe of ſetling their *Militia* by Land and Sea) the fitteſt man to take Command of the Navie as Lord Admiral. According to that, an Ordinance of both Houſes was drawn up, to confer the Office on him.

The King had given the employment to Sir JOHN PENINGTON, a man who had long been Vice-Admiral, and a ſucceſſful Commander; and had written his Letters to the Earl of *Warwick*, with a ſtrict Command to quit the Place. The Earl of *Warwick* was in a great ſtraight between two ſuch high Commands, being gone down to take poſſeſſion of the Navie, and therefore called a Councel of War, acquainting them all both with the Ordinance of Parliament, and the King's Letters. But the Earl himſelf was ſwayed in conſcience to give obedience rather to the Ordinance of Parliament; and the reaſon of it himſelf gives in a Letter directed to a Lord of the Houſe. *When I conſidered* (ſaith he) *the great care which I have ſeen in the Parliaments of this Kingdom, for the good and ſafety both of King and Kingdom, and every man's particular in them; and that they are the great Councel, by whoſe authority the Kings of* England *have ever ſpoken to their Subjects; I was reſolved to continue in this employment, until I ſhall be revoked by that Authority that hath intruſted me with it.*

Moſt

Moſt of the Captains took up unanimouſly the ſame reſolution that the Earl did, excepting five, which were the Rere-Admiral, Captain FOGGE, Captain BAILY, Captain SLINGSBY, and Captain WAKE, who alleadged that they had the King's Command to obey Sir JOHN PENINGTON, whom he had appointed Admiral in ſtead of the Earl of *Northumberland*. Theſe five had gotten together round, to make defence againſt the Earl: but he came to Anchor about them, and having begirt them, ſummoned them again; upon which three of them came in, and ſubmitted: two onely, Captain SLINGSBY and Captain WAKE ſtood out. The Earl let flie a Gun over them, and turned up the Glaſſe upon them, ſending his Boat, and moſt of the Boats in the Fleet, to let them know their danger, if they came not within that ſpace. But ſo peremptory was their anſwer, that the Maſters and Sailors grew impatient; and although they had no Arms, aſſaulted them, ſeized upon thoſe Captains, being armed with their Piſtols and ſwords, ſtrook their Yards and Top-maſts, and brought them to the Earl. Thus by the wonderful courage of theſe unarmed men, the buſineſſe was ended without effuſion of any blood, when the Earl was ready to give fire upon them.

Within few days after, another addition of ſtrength was brought to the Earl of *Warwick* by an accident. A great and ſtrong ſhip of the King's, called The Lion, putting to Sea from *Holland*, and bound for *Newcaſtle*, being much diſtreſſed with foul weather, was driven into the *Downs*. Captain FOXE, who commanded that ſhip, ſaluted the Earl of *Warwick*, who preſently acquainted the Captain with the Ordinance of Parliament, whereby his Lordſhip had commanded of thoſe ſhips, requiring his ſubmiſſion thereunto. The Captain at firſt refuſed to yeeld obedience to the Ordinance, and thereupon was preſently clapt in hold: but all his Officers in the ſhip ſubmitted themſelves, and

and ſtrook their Sails and Top-yards in token of obedience to the ſaid Ordinance. This ſhip was very conſiderable, carrying two and fourty great Pieces of braſſe Ordnance; beſides, a little Veſſel laden with Gun-powder of a great value, was taken alſo together with this ſhip. The Earl was informed by ſome of her men, that young Prince RUPERT and Prince MAURICE, with divers other Commanders, intended to have come from *Holland* in this ſhip, the Lion. But after three days and three nights ſtorm at Sea, thoſe two Princes (in a ſick and weak condition) landed again in *Holland*.

The King hearing of the ſurpriſal of the Lion, ſent a Meſſenger to the Earl of *Warwick*, to demand her again, with all the goods therein, and that ſhe ſhould be brought to *Scarborough*. But the Earl returned an Anſwer to this effect, that the Parliament had intruſted him with the Care of the Fleet, and that that ſhip was a part thereof: therefore he humbly beſought his Majeſtie to pardon him; for without their conſent he might not part with her; and that he knew of no goods within her belonging to his Majeſtie.

But leaving the Earl of *Warwick* to his Sea-employments, it is time to return to thoſe warlike Levies and Preparations which were made by Land: for now the fatal time was come, when thoſe long and tedious Paper-conflicts of Declarations, Petitions, and Proclamations, were turned into actual and bloody Wars, and the Pens ſeconded by drawn ſwords.

On the twelfth of *July* 1642, the Parliament voted that an Army ſhould be raiſed for the ſafety of the King's Perſon, and defence of the Parliament; for ſo they called it, deſiring to joyn together what ſeemed to be at ſo great a diſtance and enmity.

The Earl of *Eſſex* was by a great and unanimous conſent of both Houſes choſen General of that Army, and of all Forces raiſed for the Parliament; with whom they proteſted to live and die in that Cauſe.

The

The Earl of *Eſſex* was a Gentleman of a noble and moſt untainted reputation, of undoubted loyalty to his Country and Prince; having always (what courſe ſoever the Court ſteered) ſerved in an honourable way, the right Intereſt of the Engliſh Nation, and the Proteſtant Religion; and to that end had formerly engaged himſelf in the *Palatine* War, and ſervice of the *Netherland* United Provinces: inſomuch as at this time, when they ſought a Lord to undertake the high charge of commanding in chief, there ſeemed to be no choice at all; but we may ſay of this Election, as PATERCULUS did of another, *Non quærendus erat quem eligerent, ſed eligendus qui eminebat.*

The Parliament at that time were very able to raiſe Forces, and arm them well, by reaſon of the great maſſe of Money and Plate which to that purpoſe was heaped up in *Guild-hall*, and daily increaſed by the free Contribution of thoſe that were well-affected to the Parliament Cauſe: where not onely the wealthieſt Citizens and Gentlemen who were neer-dwellers, brought in their large bags and goblets; but the poorer ſort, like that widow in the Goſpel, preſented their mites alſo; inſomuch that it was a common Jeer of men diſaffected to the Cauſe, to call it the Thimble and Bodkin-Army.

The Earl of *Eſſex* was very careful and induſtrious in raiſing of his Army; in which he deſired to have as great a Body of Horſe as could conveniently be gotten, by reaſon that he conceived his chief work was to ſeek out the King's Forces, and prevent their ſpoiling of the Country, and diſarming ſeveral Counties, to furniſh themſelves. And indeed, his Forces, conſidering the long Peace of *England*, and unreadineſſe of Arms, were not onely raiſed, but well armed in a ſhort time. Many of the Lords who then ſate in the Houſe of Peers (beſides thoſe Lords who went into divers Counties to ſettle the *Militia*, and therefore raiſed Forces for ſafety of thoſe ſeveral Places) liſted themſelves in

the Lord General's Army, and took Commiſſions as Colonels; the Lord ROBERTS, the Lord SAINT-JOHN eldeſt ſon to the Earl of *Bullenbrook*, the Lord of *Rochford* eldeſt ſon to the Earl of *Dover*: and many Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, of greateſt rank and quality there, took Commiſſions for Horſe and Foot-ſervice in that Army; of whom theſe were ſome: Sir JOHN MERRICK, who was made Serjeant-Major-General of that Army; the Lord GREY of *Grooby*, ſon to the Earl of *Stamford*; Maſter DENZIL HOLLIS, Maſter HAMDEN, Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, Sir WILLIAM WALLER, Sir SAMUEL LUKE, Sir HENRY CHOLMLY, Maſter GRANTHAM, Maſter WHITLOCK, with divers others. The Earl of *Bedford*, within two days after that the Earl of *Eſſex* was choſen *Generaliſſimo*, was voted to be General of the Horſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

A brief Relation of the condition of divers Counties *in* England, *when the Parliaments Ordinance for the* Militia, *and the Kings Commiſsion of Array were put in execution. With a mention of ſome Lords and others who were actors on either ſide. The Lord Maior of* London *committed to the Tower, and ſentenced by the Parliament. A mention of ſome Declarations, Meſſages, and Anſwers that paſſed between the King and the two Houſes of Parliament.*

DUring the time that this Army was raiſing for the Parliament, to be conducted by his Excellency in perſon, the King with ſmall ſtrength as yet, was removing from place to place to gather Forces, and draw people to his ſide. Of whoſe proceedings, and by what degrees he encreaſed in power, I ſhall ſpeak hereafter in a continued Series, to avoid confuſion in the Story. But in the mean time, the Parliaments Ordinance of *Militia*, and the King's Commiſſion of *Array*, were juſtling together almoſt in every County: the greateſt of the Engliſh Nobility on both ſides appearing perſonally, to ſeize upon thoſe places which were deputed

puted to them either by the King or by the Parliament. No Ordinances from the One, or Proclamations from the Other, could now give any further ſtop to this general and ſpreading Miſchief. God was not pleaſed that one Chimney ſhould contain this Civil fire; but ſmall ſparks of it were daily kindling in every part of the Land.

Let it not therefore ſeem amiſſe, if in the firſt place I make a brief Relation into what poſture every particular County, or moſt of them, had endeavoured to put themſelves, during that time, which was ſince the twelfth of *July*, when the firſt apparant denouncing of War began, and the General was elected in Parliament; till the three and twentieth of *October*, when it broke out into a fierce and cruel Battel. But let not the Reader expect any full or perfect Natration of this, which would take up too great a time, and prove as tedious as unneceſſary. The onely reaſon why I have entered into it, is to inform the Reader what Lords and Gentlemen did firſt appear in action on either ſide, in thoſe particular Counties, that in the progreſſe of the Story he may be better acquainted with thoſe names, whoſe Actions proved of ſo high concernment in the future War. Nor can any perfect Judgement be made of the affections or condition of any one County in this brief Narration of ſo ſhort a time: for ſcarce was there any City or Shire, but endured in proceſſe of time many Changes, and became altered from their firſt condition, either by unconſtancy of affections, or elſe enforced to take a new ſide, as they were threatned by approaching Armies of either party, when the War grew to a greater height.

In ſome Counties there was no ſtrugling at all, one ſide wholly prevailing, and the Peoples affections bending the ſame way: as it appeared in *Lincolnſhire* at the firſt, (which was the firſt account given to the Parliament of their *Militia*, and where ſome circumſtances are of that note, as to make it juſtly deſerve a more particular

particular recital then other places) when the Lord WILLOUGHBY of *Parham* went down thither, being choſen by the Parliament Lord Lieutenant of that County. This young Lord being come to *Lincoln*, expreſſeth to the Parliament what cheerful and hearty obedience he found from the Captains and Officers of the Trained Bands, and in how good a poſture they were, beyond all expectation; conſidering the unhappineſſe of the Plague being then in the Town, which hindered the appearance of ſome: but that was fully ſupplied by a Company of Voluntiers, equal in number and goodneſſe of Arms to the Trained Bands. Yet that Change which I ſpake of before, did afterwards ſadly appear in this County, which was afterwards as much divided in it ſelf as any part of *England*, and by that means a moſt unhappie ſeat of War, often gained and regained by either ſide. *Lincolnſhire* was then very forward for the Lord WILLOUGHBY (however afterward he found ſome reſiſtance from the Earl of *Lindſey*, who ſided with the King) as he wrote up to the Parliament, and ſent alſo to them the King's Letter, and his own Anſwer: Which are both fit to be inſerted into the Story, being the firſt of that kinde, and much unfolding the nature of the buſineſſe.

The King's Letter to the Lord WILLOUGHBY *of* Parham.

CHARLES REX.

Right Truſty and Welbeloved, We greet you well. Whereas We underſtand that you have begun to aſſemble, train and muſter the Trained Bands of Our County of Lincoln, *under pretence of an Ordinance of Parliament whereto We have not given Our conſent, which is not onely contrary to the Law, but to Our Command and Pleaſure, ſignified by Our Proclamation ſent to Our high Sheriff of that Our County. Wherefore, that you may not hereafter*

hereafter plead ignorance of ſuch Our Prohibition, We do by theſe Our Letters command and charge you, upon your Allegiance, to deſiſt and forbear to raiſe, train, exerciſe, or aſſemble together any part of the Trained Bands of Our County, either by your ſelf, or by any others employed under you, or by warrant from you. And becauſe you may, for what you have already done concerning the Militia *of that Our County, plead, that you had not ſo particular a Command, We ſhall paſſe by what you have already done therein, ſo as preſently, upon your receipt hereof, you ſhall deſiſt and give over medling any further with any thing concerning the* Militia *of that Our County. But if you ſhall not preſently deſiſt, and forbear medling therewith, We are reſolved to call you to a ſtrict account for your diſobedience therein, after ſo many particular and legal Commands given you, upon your Allegiance, to the contrary; and ſhall eſteem and proceed againſt you, as a diſturber of the Peace of the Kingdom.*

Given at Our Court at *York* the fourth of *June*, 1642.

To Our Right Truſty and Welbeloved, the Lord WILLOUGHBY *of* Parham.

The Lord WILLOUGHBY of *Parham* his Letter, in Anſwer to His Majeſtie.

SIR,

As there can be nothing of greater unhappineſſe to me, then to receive a Command from Your Majeſtie whereunto my endeavours cannot give ſo ready an obedience as my affections; ſo I muſt confeſſe the difficulty at this time not a little, how to expreſſe that Duty which I owe to Your Majeſties late Commands, and not falſifie that Truſt repoſed in me by Your high Court of Parliament; through whoſe particular directions I am now come into this County to ſettle the Militia, *according to the Ordinance of Parliament, which by the Votes of my* Lord LITTLETON, *and*

and others in the Houſe of Peers, better verſed in the Laws then my ſelf, paſſed as a legal thing; and hath ſince been confirmed (if I miſtake not) by his example, and Your Majeſties Chief Juſtice Sir JOHN BANKS, *both in accepting their Ordinance, and nominating their Deputy-Lieutenants: how much further they proceeded, I know not.*

But, Sir, if the opinions of thoſe great Lawyers drew me into an act unſutable to Your Majeſties liking, I hope the want of yeers will excuſe my want of judgement. And ſince by the Command of the Parliament, I am now ſo far engaged in their Service, as the ſending out Warrants to ſummon the County to meet me this day at Lincoln, *and afterwards in other places; I do moſt humbly beſeech Your Majeſtie not to impoſe that Command on me, which muſt needs render me falſe to thoſe that relie on me, and ſo make me more unhappie then any other miſery that can fall upon me.*

Theſe things, Sir, I once more humbly beſeech Your Majeſtie may be taken into Your Gracious conſideration; and that You would never be pleaſed to harbour any miſconceit of me, or of this Action; ſince nothing hath yet paſſed by my Commands here, or ever ſhall, but what ſhall tend to the honour and ſafety of Your Majeſties Perſon, to the preſervation of the Peace of Your Kingdoms, and to the content (I hope) of all Your Majeſties Subjects in theſe parts, amongſt whom I remain

Your Majeſties moſt humble and
moſt dutiful Subject and Servant,
FRA. WILLOUGHBY.

Upon the receipt of theſe Letters, the Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, in which they expreſſed how much they did value and approve the endeavours of this Lord, in a ſervice ſo much importing the ſafety of this Kingdom, not doubting of their readineſſe to concur with them, upon all occaſi-

ons

ons to manifeſt the ſenſe they have, and ſhall retain of his deſervings; which appear the greater, by how much the difficulties (appearing by the circumſtances of thoſe Letters) have been greater. The Lords therefore, as they reſolved to make his Intereſt their own, in this Service for the publike good and ſafety of the Kingdom; ſo they deſired the Commons to joyn with them in ſo juſt and neceſſary a work. To this the Houſe of Commons conſented, and reſolved to joyn with the Lords in this Vote, making the like reſolution alſo for the Deputy-Lieutenants for the County of *Lincoln*, and deſired the Lords concurrence therein. Upon which it was ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that they agree with the Houſe of Commons for the reſolution concerning the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County of *Lincoln*.

In *Eſſex* alſo, which proved a moſt unanimous County, and by that means continued in peace and happineſſe, the Earl of *Warwick* (whoſe care and action was not confined onely to the Sea) choſen Lord Lieutenant by the Parliament, when he went down to muſter and exerciſe the Country, was received with great applauſe. The Trained Bands were not onely compleat, but increaſed by Voluntiers to unuſual numbers; and ſo affectionate to that Cauſe they were in general, that they preſented a Petition to the Earl of *Warwick* and the Deputy-Lieutenants, in the name of all the Captains and Lieutenants of the ſeveral Companies, and in the name of all perſons belonging to the Trained Bands. To which Petition, when it was read in the field, they expreſſed a full conſent by their general acclamations and applauſe in every Company. The Earl of *Warwick* therefore ſent the Petition to the Parliament, to let them ſee the extraordinary alacrity and affection of that County of *Eſſex* to them: which was in theſe words which follow.

To

To the Right Honourable ROBERT *Earl of* Warwick, *Lord-Lieutenant of the County of* Eſſex; *and to the worthy Gentlemen the Deputy-Lieutenants of the ſame County, confided in by the moſt Honourable the high Court of Parliament.*

"We the Captains and Lieutenants, with the full "conſent of the Trained Bands and Voluntiers of the "County now aſſembled, having, before the acceſſe "of this preſent Parliament, ſeen our Religion, our "Laws and Liberties brought to the brink of ruine "and ſubverſion, by the reſults of moſt deſperate and "wicked Counſels, could not but with exeeding joy "behold the aſſembling and continuance of ſo great "and faithful a Councel (the Repreſentative Body "of this Kingdom) and with moſt certain confidence "commit thereto all that was dear unto us.

"And having alſo ſeen the late helliſh deſignes and "actings of a malignant party in this Kingdom, and "the bloody Rebellion in *Ireland*, all working to "retard the progreſſe, or ſubvert the being of this "worthy Parliament, and therein to bereave us of all "our hopes of Reformation, or future peace and hap-"pineſſe to this Church or State; we cannot but aſ-"cribe all glory & praiſe unto the Lord of lords, & ex-"preſſe moſt hearty thankfulnes to his bleſſed Inſtru-"ments, that great Aſſembly, for their undaunted re-"ſolutions, unparallell'd endeavours, and happie pro-"ceedings for the common good. And herein (as not "the leaſt means of our ſafety) for the moſt neceſſa-"ry and ſeaſonable Ordinance of theirs touching the "*Militia*, whereby we are put under the Command "and Guidance of ſo noble a Lord, and ſuch worthy "Gentlemen, whereunto we humbly deſire this pre-"ſent day and meeting may be an evidence and pledge "of our free and willing obedience.

"Having intruſted our Religion, our Laws, and all, "into the hands of that great and moſt faithful Coun-"cel the Parliament, whoſe care and fidelity we have

"ſo abundantly found, we even bleed to ſee the heart "and actions of our Royal King (contrary to his own "Royal expreſſions) declining from the Counſels of "his Parliament, & carried after other Counſels, whom, "as the Laws and Conſtitutions of this Land have not "known nor repoſed upon; ſo we (for our own parts) "neither will nor dare intruſt with our Religion or "Laws: and whom, we verily believe, could they "prevail againſt that higheſt Court, (under God our "chiefeſt Bulwark and Defence) would ſoon deprive "us both of Religion and Law, and (notwithſtanding "all their ſpecious pretences) reduce us to a condition "no leſſe miſerable then ſlaviſh.

"From the deep apprehenſions of all which, we do "freely and heartily promiſe and tender our perſons "and eſtates to aſſiſt and defend (to the uttermoſt) "the high Court of Parliament now aſſembled, the "Members, Power and Priviledges thereof; and "therein, his Majeſties Perſon and Authority, and "the Kingdoms Peace, (according to our late Prote-"ſtation) againſt all contrary Counſels, Power, or "force of Arms whatſoever, which ſhall be reared up "or attempted againſt them.

"And this our humble Acknowledgement and Re-"ſolution, (which, we doubt not, will be accorded "unto by all good Subjects) we humbly deſire your "Honour and Worſhips to tender, on our behalf, to "that moſt honourable Aſſembly of Parliament: for "whoſe happie progreſſe and ſucceſſe we ſhall daily "pray.

Subſcribed,

J. Kiteley, Henry Farre, John Ballet, John Flemming, William Marsham, Robert Barrington, Captains. Tho. Harper, John Woodcock, Rich. Lawrence, George Colwel, Tho. Clark, Wimliam Burls, Lieutenants.

The Parliament were very forward to expreſſe their approbation of this moſt affectionate Declaration of the

the *Eſſex* men, and returned them an Anſwer; part of which was in this manner.

This juſt and faithful reſolution of theirs to the publike good, the Lords and Commons do not onely approve, but commend; aſſuring them, that as their endeavours have been for the Peace and Happineſſe of the King and Kingdom; ſo they will perſiſt in diſcharge of the great and publike Truſt which lies upon them; to go thorow all difficulties which may oppoſe the publike Peace and Welfare of this Kingdom; and will upon all occaſions be ready to expreſſe particularly to thoſe perſons, that reſpect which is due to perſons from whom they have received ſo great aſſurance of affection and fidelity.

In *Kent* there was cheerful obedience (without any open oppoſition) ſhewed to the Ordinance of the *Militia*; as it appeared by their Petition and Proclamation, and more by their real and conſtant actions. True it is, that ſome Gentlemen of that County were not much affected to the Parliaments Cauſe, who did accordingly frame a diſpleaſing Petition to the Houſes, and brought it up to *London*, accompanied with many Gentlemen of that County: but the Parliament having notice of it, ſent Officers, and diſarmed thoſe Gentlemen who brought the Petition, before they paſſed over *London*-bridge: and the two which preſented it to the Houſe of Commons, Sir WILLIAM BUTLER and M. RICHARD LOVELACE, were both committed. Thoſe in *Kent* who favoured the King's party and Commiſſion of *Array*, were not a number conſiderable enough to bring that County into any combuſtion; the Gentlemen which adhered to the Parliament uſed ſo great a care and induſtry in ſetling the *Militia*, in diſarming thoſe few (but great) Papiſts among them, in raiſing Arms, and taxing themſelves at high rates for the ſervice of the Parliament, that they not onely preſerved their own County in quiet, but gave great aſſiſtance to the Parliament-Armies in other places, as will appear in the ſequel of this Story.

The Eaſtern end of *Suſſex* (it being a long and narrow County lying for many miles upon the Sea) ſtood firm to the Parliament, and were very induſtrious in ſetling of the *Militia*, by which means they were ſo happie, as to preſerve themſelves in peace and quietneſſe. But the Weſtern part of that County, by means of many revolted Members of the Parliament, inhabitants there, together with their Allies and friends, was at the firſt in ſome diſtraction, though it continued not very long.

Surrey and *Middleſex*, by fortune of their ſituation, could not but ſide with, and by conſequence be protected by the Parliament.

The Eaſtern Counties, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and *Cambridgeſhire*, once the Kingdom of the *Eaſt-Angles*, were happily kept from the beginning without any great combuſtion; though it were certain that many of the chief Gentry in thoſe Counties, bended in their affections to the King's Commiſſion of *Array:* but they were not a part ſtrong enough to engage their Countries in a War: For the Free-holders and Yeomen in general adhered to the Parliament; and thoſe Gentlemen who attempted to raiſe men, or draw Forces together, or provide Arms for the King, were ſoon curbed, and all their endeavours cruſhed at the beginning, by thoſe of the other ſide; eſpecially by the great wiſdom and indefatigable induſtry of Maſter Oliver Crumwel, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, who had taken a Commiſſion for Colonel of Horſe from the Parliament: of whoſe particular actions, there will be high occaſion to diſcourſe hereafter.

The County of *Southampton* began at the firſt to be divided, and continued ſo, being long and variouſly perplexed with the changing fortunes of either ſide. Colonel Goring, eldeſt ſon to the Lord Goring, who had been, the yeer before, a means to detect that Conſpiracie of bringing the Northern Army againſt the

the Parliament, (of which already hath been ſpoken) and by that, grown into ſome Truſt with the Parliament, of which he was a Member, was ſent down to *Portſmouth*, to keep that place for them, and three thouſand pounds allowed him for the charges of Fortification. He receiving that money from the Parliament, broke his Truſt, and kept the Place for the King againſt them; with what ſucceſſe, ſhall hereafter be declared. But immediately after his revolt, the Earl of *Portland*, Governour of the Iſle of *Wight*, a man ſuſpected by the Parliament, was committed to cuſtody in *London*, for ſecurity of his perſon, leſt he ſhould comply with Colonel GORING, and command that Iſland for the King's party. The Covernment of *Wight* was then committed to the Earl of *Pembrook*, a man of whoſe fidelity the Parliament doubted not.

Though the Southern and Eaſtern parts of *England* enjoyed ſome ſhew of reſt, the Counties more remote from *London*, toward the North and Weſt, could not at all partake of that happineſſe.

In *Lancaſhire* the Lord STRANGE, ſon to the Earl of *Derby*, who was made Lord Lieutenant of *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire* by the King, ſeeking to put the Commiſſion of *Array* in execution, found great reſiſtance from the Parliamentary Gentlemen, Sir THOMAS STANLEY, Maſter HOLLAND, Maſter HOLCRAFT, Maſter EGERTON, Maſter BOOTH, as alſo Maſter ASHTON, and Maſter MOOR, both Members of the Houſe of Commons; by whom, within the ſpace of few months, he was quite driven out of the County, and that Shire wholly ruled by the Parliament, though it abounded more with Papiſts then any other.

The Lord STRANGE upon the fifteenth day of *July* had made an attempt to gain *Manchester*, and by thoſe Gentlemen was repulſed; where one man was ſlain; which was the firſt blood ſhed in theſe Civil Wars. But this Lord was not at all fortunate in ſervice againſt the Parliament; who not long after, returned again with

with a great Force, conſiſting of three thouſand men, to the Town of *Mancheſter*; where, after he had ſharply beſieged it for the ſpace of two whole weeks, he was at laſt quite beaten, with the loſſe of many of his men.

In *Cheſhire* alſo, the other County of which he was made Lieutenant by the King, his fortune was no better; where he was reſiſted by Sir WILLIAM BRERETON and other Gentlemen, and hindered from ſeizing the Magazine of that County, as he intended. Nor could the Earl of *Rivers*, whom the King had put into the Commiſſion of *Array* (being a Papiſt) aſſiſt him ſufficiently to make good that County for the King, but that the Papiſts were all diſarmed there by thoſe Proteſtant Gentlemen that adhered to the Parliament.

Further North, the Countries were more full of variance. The Earl of *Newcaſtle*, with a ſtrong Garriſon, kept for the King the Town of *Newcaſtle*. And the Earl of *Cumberland*, made Lord-Lieutenant of *York-ſhire* by the King, was active in putting the Commiſſion of *Array* in execution: but reſiſted they were by the Lord FAIRFAX, and others of the Parliamentary Gentlemen. But this buſineſſe of the North ſhall now be paſſed over, deſerving a larger Story hereafter, when time ſhall require, to ſpeak of the Earl of *Newcaſtle*'s greatneſſe, and the various fortunes of the Lord FAIRFAX, and his ſon Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX.

In *Derbyſhire*, where many great Lords and Gentlemen inhabited, none at all of note ſtood for the Parliament, but Sir JOHN GELL and his brother: of whoſe actions it will be ſeaſonable to ſpeak in another place.

Staffordſhire and *Nottinghamſhire* were in no leſſe combuſtion.

In *Leiceſterſhire* the troubles were far greater, and early begun by Maſter HENRY HASTINGS, ſecond ſon to the Earl of *Huntingdon*, whom the King had made

made Sheriff of that County, and put into the Commiſſion of *Array*; who raiſed great Forces to ſeize upon the Magazine of that County. Againſt whom the Earl of *Stamford* was ſent by the Parliament, as Lord Lieutenant, with a conſiderable ſtrength: who arriving there, did much curb the proceedings of Maſter HASTINGS, and took poſſeſſion of the Town of *Leiceſter*.

Great was the Contention about that time in *Warwick-ſhire*, between the Earl of *Northampton* for the King, and the Lord BROOK for the Parliament, not without ſharp encounters, and ſlaughter on either ſide. The Earl having ſeized the Ordnance at *Banbury*, marched with great fury into *Warwick-ſhire*, ſpoiling the Countrey as he went, though not without oppoſition of the people, and the Lord BROOK's Forces; againſt whom he could not at all prevail.

The Earl of *Pembrook* had ſetled the *Militia* in *Wiltſhire* with ſmall ado, though it continued not long ſo. And the Earl of *Holland* in *Berk-ſhire*, being but faintly reſiſted by the Earl of *Berk-ſhire*, the Lord LOVELACE, and others. For ſoon after, the Earl of *Berk-ſhire*, together with Sir JOHN CURSON, Sir ROBERT DORNER, and others for the Commiſſion of *Array*, who came to *Watlington* in *Oxfordſhire*, to ſeize the Magazine of that part of the County, which was laid up in that Town, were there taken priſoners, and ſent up to the Parliament by Colonel HAMDEN and Colonel GOODWIN, two Members of the Houſe of Commons, and Knights of the Shire for *Buckingham*.

But the further that this Diſcourſe travels Weſtward, the greater and more remarkable you ſhall finde ſuch conteſtations; eſpecially conſidering the number of Lords and Gentlemen of great rank, and many of them Members of Parliament, who ſided with the King againſt the Parliament, and were therefore afterward voted out of the Houſe. One great Head there was of all thoſe Weſtern Counties, WILLIAM Marqueſſe

Marqueſſe of *Hartford*, whom the King, by his Commiſſion of *Array*, had appointed Chief, and made him Lord Lieutenant-General of *Devon*, *Cornwal*, *Somerſet*, *Dorſet*, *Wilts*, *Southampton*, *Glouceſter*, *Berks*, *Oxford*, *Hereford*, and ſeven Counties within the Principality of *Wales*: who, notwithſtanding his high Command, was never able to atchieve any great matter for the King's ſide; ſo much were the common people of the Weſt at that time inclined to the Parliament, and ſo active were thoſe Gentlemen who ſtood for it; ſuch as were the ſons of Sir FRANCIS POPHAM, Maſter ALEXANDER POPHAM, HUGH, and EDWARD, who were more animated by the example of their aged father; Maſter STRODE a Deputy-Lieutenant, and others, againſt all thoſe frequent attempts which the Marqueſſe made.

Great was the number of conſiderable men in thoſe Countries, which took part with the Marqueſſe againſt the Parliament, and very induſtrious in their ſeveral Stations, to put in execution the Commiſſion of *Array*; as the Lord PAWLET, Sir RALPH HOPTON, and Sir JOHN STOWEL, both Members of the Houſe of Commons, and for that reaſon put out of the Houſe. Sir RICHARD SLANY in *Cornwal*, another Member, put out alſo for the ſame cauſe; as likwiſe were Sir EDWARD RODNEY and Maſter COVENTRY, both Parliament-men, who followed the Marqueſſe in ſome of his actions. Sir BEVILE GREENVILE an active man, another Member of Parliament, was very induſtrious for the *Array*, both in *Cornwal* and *Devon*, joyning himſelf with the Earl of *Bath*, who came for that purpoſe to his houſe at *Taſtock* in *Devonſhire*, and aſſiſted by many Gentlemen, as Maſter CULINS, Sheriff of that County, M. BAMFIELD, M. ASHFORD, M. GIFFORD, M. SAINTHIL, Baronet SEYMOUR, and M. COURTNEY; to whoſe aſſiſtance Squire ROGERS came with Forces out of *Dorſetſhire*.

Various were the Succeſſes which Marqueſſe *Hartford*,

ford, aſſiſted by ſo many of the Gentry, found in his ſeveral Enterpriſes; ſometimes prevailing, but more often diſtreſſed. In one Skirmiſh, which about the beginning of *Auguſt*, himſelf, the Lord PAWLET, Sir RALPH HOPTON, Sir JOHN STOWEL, and M. SMITH, another Member of the Houſe of Commons, made againſt the Deputy-Lieutenants in *Somerſetſhire*, he prevailed againſt them, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Town of *Shepton-Mallet*: Ten men were ſlain, and many wounded. Going afterwards to *Wells*, he had been beſieged by many thouſands of the People, who aroſe againſt him; but that having timely notice of their coming, he eſcaped a back-way out of the Town. About which time, the Earl of *Bedford* was ſent down by the Parliament againſt him with three hundred Horſe: by whom the Lord Marqueſſe, the Lord PAWLET, Sir RALPH HOPTON, Colonel LUNSFORD, and many other conſiderable men, were beſieged in *Sherburn*. For great numbers out of the Country came daily to the aſſiſtance of the Earl of *Bedford*. Many weeks did that Siege continue; many Sallies were made out, and ſharp encounters on both ſides performed with great courage: the Parliament ſide being in firm hope to have taken them at laſt; which was conceived a thing of great moment, and advantage to their affairs, if they could have poſſeſſed the perſons of ſo many men, conſiderable both in their Fortunes and Valour; and who proved afterwards very ſtrong and cruel enemies. Yet that hope was fruſtrate: for about the beginning of October, they all eſcaped out of *Sherburn*: the Earl nevertheleſſe purſued after them, and in the Chaſe took M. PALLART, Sir HENRY, Sir JOHN, and Sir CHARLES BARCLAY priſoners. Within a week after, the Earl of *Bath* was apprehended, and brought up a priſoner to the Parliament.

It cannot be much wondered at, that Diviſion was found in Countrey-Towns and Villages ſo far remote

from the Parliament, where the people were variouſly wrought upon by perſwaſions or fears from either ſide: when *London* it ſelf, the Seat of that great Councel, and chiefeſt Bulwark of their defence, was not without ſome taſte of theſe Diſtractions. Which, beſides the actions of ſome private Citizens, too petty to be here rehearſed, may appear to the Reader in one thing, which cannot be omitted: The Lord Maior of *London* was at this time a priſoner in the Tower, committed by the Parliament.

Sir RICHARD GURNEY, Lord Maior of *London* for that yeer, was charged by the Houſe of Commons on the ſeventh of *July*, for being a mover of Sedition in the Kingdom, in cauſing the King's Proclamation concerning the Commiſſion of *Array* (which was declared by both Houſes to be illegal) to be proclaimed in the City. And the Charge being perfected, was ſent up to the Lords, deſiring that he might forthwith be called to his Anſwer; which was accordingly granted.

Four days after, while the Lord Maior was attending the Lords Houſe upon this Charge, an additional Impeachment was read againſt him in the Houſe of Commons, brought in by the Common-Councel of *London*, for divers breaches of his Oath in execution of his Office, for proclaiming divers illegal Proclamations, and contemning the Orders of Parliament.

This Impeachment was forthwith ſent up, and read in the Lords Houſe. Upon the reading of which, it was ordered that he ſhould be ſent to the Tower, from thence to be brought to a legal Trial upon his Impeachment.

Many days, during the ſpace of a whole month, was this Lord Maior brought from the Tower to *Weſtminſter*, to attend the Lords of Parliament, and many times returned back without being heard, by reaſon of ſo great a multiplicity of Buſineſſes as the Houſes were then in.

At

At laſt, after ſome hearings, he was brought, on the twelfth of *Auguſt*, to the Houſe of Lords, to receive his Cenſure: The effect whereof was, that he ſhould be put from his Majorality, never bear Office in the City or Common-wealth, be uncapable of all Honour or Dignity to be conferred on him by the King, and ſtand committed priſoner to the Tower, during the pleaſure of both Houſes.

During the time of theſe contentions between the Ordinance of the *Militia* and Commiſſion of *Array*, which is briefly touched by it ſelf; it will not be amiſſe to return to the King's proceedings in his own Perſon, by what degrees he came to encreaſe in ſtrength, and what conteſtations happened betwixt Himſelf and the Parliament: wherein, that which concerned the Pen, ſhall be firſt briefly touched, and then his other actions. But thoſe Declarations, Petitions, and Proclamations, which upon all occaſions were then publiſhed, are too many and too long to be recited in a Story: in the Records, and printed Books of Ordinances, they may be read. I ſhall onely mention ſome of the chief, and excerp the moſt material contents of them.

The Parliament, about the end of *July*, had petitioned the King to forbear all preparations of War, and remove his Gariſons. To which he gave Anſwer, and upbraided them with their preparations of War, for appointing the Earl of *Eſſex* to be their General, and the Earl of *Warwick* Admiral. In that Anſwer, he deſcants at large upon particulars, commanding his ſaid Anſwer and their Petition to be read in all Churches. To which the Parliament reply, as they had done before, that they cannot lay down Arms, nor rejourn the Parliament to any other place, as he would have them, unleſſe he leave off thoſe Warlike preparations, and comply with that Councel, to which onely he ought to adhere, by the Conſtitution of this Government. They likewiſe command the Petition,

Anſwer, and Reply to be read in all Churches.

But things proceeding ſtill higher, the King, being returned to the City of *York*, from thence ſent forth a Proclamation, to ſuppreſſe (as he there ſtileth it) the preſent Rebellion under command of ROBERT Earl of *Eſſex*; offering withal free pardon to him, and all ſuch as ſhall within ſix days after the date thereof, being the ninth of *Auguſt*, lay down their Arms. In which Proclamation alſo he commanded the Marqueſſe *Hartford* to raiſe ſpeedily what Forces he could, within all thoſe Counties whereof he had made him Lieutenant-General in the Commiſſion of *Array* (of which before was ſpoken) and to march againſt, deſtroy, or apprehend the ſaid Earl of *Eſſex*.

The Parliament, upon this Proclamation, make a Declaration, wherein they briefly recount all the King's former proceedings againſt them and the Kingdom: All which they attribute (after their uſual manner) to his wicked Councel; and promiſe ſtill to make him great and happie, if he will return to his great Councel.

But the next day after his former Proclamation, the King, continuing ſtill at *York*, ſent forth another, declaring that no Papiſt ſhould ſerve him in his Army, and that his Souldiers ſhould commit no rapine upon the people. And within two days after that, he publiſhed a Diſcourſe, called *A Declaration to all his loving Subjects concerning the proceedings of this preſent Parliament*. This Declaration was of a great length, containing fifty pages in a large *Quarto*. In which was compriſed a kinde of Hiſtory touching all former paſſages betwixt himſelf and them, from the beginning of theſe diviſions: which is to be read in the printed Book of Parliament-Ordinances. Toward the end of that Declaration, he proteſteth a wonderful love to Parliaments, and to the peace and happineſſe of the Kingdom: but he requires that ſome perſons (as diſturbers of the publike peace) may be delivered

delivered into the hands of Juſtice, to be tried by their Peers, naming the Lord of *Kymbolton*, and thoſe five Members of the Houſe of Commons whom before he came to ſurpriſe in that Houſe, Maſter HOLLIS, Sir ARTHUR HASLERIG, M. PYM, M. HAMBDEN, and M. STRODE; as likewiſe M. HENRY MARTIN and Sir HENRY LUDLOW, two Members alſo of the Houſe of Commons, for ſpeaking ſome bold Speeches in that Houſe. He alſo deſires to have delivered up to him Alderman PENINGTON, who ſucceeded in the Majorality to the fore-named Sir KICHARD GURNEY, and Captain VENN, one of the City-Captains: thoſe two laſt he accuſes of bringing tumults from the City, to terrifie the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*. Another deſire of the King's is, that Inditements of high Treaſon upon the Statute of the 23 yeer of King EDWARD the third, may be drawn againſt the Earls of *Eſſex*, *Warwick*, and *Stamford*, the Lord BROOK, Sir JOHN HOTHAM, and Serjeant-Major-General SKIPPON, an expert and religious Souldier, a man of high action in the ſucceeding War, whom the City had employed in exerciſing of their *Militia*; as likewiſe againſt all thoſe who ſhall hereafter exerciſe the *Militia* by vertue of the Ordinance of Parliament.

The Pen was very quick upon all occaſions: and the King, the next day after the publication of this long fore-mentioned Declaration, ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament, upbraiding both Houſes with an Order which they had then made, for the borrowing of an hundred thouſand pounds out of that money which the Adventurers had raiſed for reducing of *Ireland*, and ſubduing the Rebels there; affirming, that out of his Princely care and piety toward diſtreſſed *Ireland*, he cannot but take notice of it; commanding them immediately to retract that miſchievous and unjuſt Order (for ſo he calls it) as they would anſwer the contrary to Almighty God, himſelf, and thoſe that have truſted them: Wherein he expecteth their

their ſpeedie Anſwer and Obedience; and the rather, that he may thereby be ſecured, that ſuch part of the four hundred thouſand pounds as is or ſhall be collected from his good Subjects of *England* by vertue of the late Act of Parliament whereby the ſame is granted, may not likewiſe (under falſe pretences) be diverted from the proper uſe to which it was intended, and miſemployed to the diſturbance of the Kingdoms peace, in a War againſt him.

The Lords and Commons in Parliament make Anſwer to this Meſſage, expreſſing what caution there was in the very Order (which upon that very occaſion was printed) for ſpeedie repayment of that Sum, and diſpoſing of it to the right uſe. But firſt they tell the King, that this very Meſſage of his to them, is an high breach of the Priviledge of Parliament: and upon that occaſion, they call to remembrance and declare many particulars of their care for the relief of *Ireland*, and the King's hindering of it. Thoſe particulars there expreſſed, are as followeth. They declare, *that this bloodie Rebellion was firſt raiſed by the ſame Counſels that had before brought two Armies within the bowels of this Kingdom, and two Proteſtant Nations ready to welter in each others blood, which were both defrayed a long time at the charge of the poor Commons of* England, *and quietly at laſt disbanded; by Gods bleſſing upon the Parliaments endeavours. That this deſigne failing, the ſame wicked Councels who had cauſed that impious War, raiſed this barbarous Rebellion in* Ireland; *and recommended the ſuppreſſing thereof (for the better colour) to the Parliaments care: who out of a fellow-feeling of the unſpeakable miſeries of their Proteſtant Brethren there (not ſuſpecting this horrid Plot, now too apparent) did cheerfully undertake that great work, and do really intend and endeavour to ſettle the Proteſtant Religion and a permanent Peace in that Realm, to the glory of God, the honour and profit of his Majeſtie, and ſecurity of his three Kingdoms. But how they have been diſcoura-*

diſcouraged, retarded, diverted in and from this pious and glorious Work, by thoſe traiterous Counſels about his Majeſtie, will appear by many particulars.

They there mention the ſending over at firſt of twenty thouſand pounds by the Parliament, and that good way found out to reduce *Ireland* by the Adventure of private men, without charging the Subject in general, which would probably have brought in a Million of money, had the King continued in or neer *London*, and not, by leaving his Parliament, and making War upon it, ſo intimidated and diſcouraged the Adventurers, and others who would have adventured, that that good Bill is rendered in a manner ineffectual.

They mention, that when at the ſole charge of the Adventurers, five thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe were deſigned for the relief of *Munſter*, under the command of the Lord WHARTON, and nothing was wanting but a Commiſſion to enable that Lord for the Service, ſuch was the power of wicked Counſel, that no Commiſſion could be obtained from the King; by reaſon whereof, *Lymrick* was wholly loſt, and the Province of *Munſter* ſince in very great diſtreſſe.

That when well-affected perſons, at their own charge, by way of Adventure, had prepared twelve Ships, and ſix Pinnaces, with a thouſand Land-forces, for the ſervice of *Ireland*, deſiring nothing but a Commiſſion from his Majeſtie; that Commiſſion, after twice ſending to *York* for it, and the Ships lying ready to ſet Sail, three weeks together, at the charge of neer three hundred pounds a day, was likewiſe denied. And thoſe Adventurers (rather then loſe their Expedition) were conſtrained to go by vertue of an Ordinance of both Houſes of Parliament.

That, though the Lords Juſtices of *Ireland* earneſtly deſired to have two Pieces of Battery ſent over, as neceſſary for that Service; yet ſuch commands were given to the Officers of the Tower, that none of the

the King's Ordnance muſt be ſent, to ſave his Kingdom.

That CHARLES FLOYD, Engineer and Quartermaſter-General of the Army in *Ireland*, and in actual employment there againſt the Rebels, was called away from that important Service, by expreſſe command of the King.

That Captain GREEN, Controller of the Artillery, a man in Pay, and principally employed and truſted here by the Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland* for providing and ordering the Train of Artillery which was to be ſent to *Dublin*, and who had received great ſums of money for that purpoſe, was commanded from that employment and truſt, to ſerve the King in this unnatural War againſt his Parliament. And when the Parliament had provided ſix hundred ſuits of Clothes for preſent relief of the poor Souldiers in *Ireland*, and ſent them towards *Cheſter*, WILLIAM WHITAKER that undertook the carriage of them, was aſſaulted by the King's ſouldiers lying about *Coventry*; who took away the ſix hundred ſuits of Clothes, and the poor man, his Waggon and Horſes, though they were told that the Clothes were for the ſouldiers in *Ireland*, and though the poor Carrier was five times with the Earl of *Northampton*, to beg a releaſe of his Waggon.

That three hundred ſuits of Clothes ſent likewiſe by the Parliament for *Ireland*, with a Chirurgion's Cheſt of Medicaments, towards *Cheſter*, were taken all away by the King's Troopers under command of one Captain MIDDLETON, together with the poor Carrier's Horſes and Waggon, for the King's ſervice. As likewiſe, that a great number of Draught-horſes prepared by the Parliament for the Artillery and Baggage of the Iriſh Army, and ſent to *Cheſter* for that purpoſe, being there, attending a paſſage, are now required by the King for his preſent ſervice in *England*; whoſe forces are ſo quartered about the Roads to *Ireland*, that no Proviſion can paſſe thither by Land with any ſafety.

That

That Captain KETTLEBY and Sir HENRY STRADLING, the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of the Ships appointed to lie upon the coaſt of *Ireland*, to annoy the Rebels, and to prevent the bringing of Ammunition and relief from forraign parts, are both called away from that employment by the King's command: and by reaſon of their departure from the coaſt of *Munſter*, to which they were deſigned, the Rebels there have received Powder, Ammunition, and other relief from forraign parts.

By which particulars (ſay they) it may ſeem that thoſe Rebels are countenanced there, upon deſigne to aſſiſt the enemies of the Parliament here: eſpecially conſidering that thoſe confident Rebels have preſumed, very lately, to ſend a Petition to the King, intituling themſelves his Majeſties Catholike Subjects of *Ireland*, and complaining of the Puritan Parliament of *England*; and deſiring, that ſince his Majeſtie comes not thither, according to their expectation, they may come into *England* to his Majeſtie.

The Parliament therefore, finding what danger both Kingdoms are in, by the deſignes of cruel enemies, thought fit to provide for the ſafety of both, by preparing a competent Army for the defence of King and Kingdom. But in regard that the Plate brought in by ſo many well-affected men, could not be coined ſo ſuddenly as the ſervice required; and well knowing that one hundred thouſand pounds might for a ſhort time be borrowed out of the Adventurers money for *Ireland*, without any prejudice to the affairs of that Kingdom, whoſe Subſiſtence depends upon the Welfare of this, and reſolving to make a ſpeedie repayment of that money, made this Order: which that it may appear (ſay they) to all the world to be neither miſchievous, illegal, nor unjuſt (as the King calls it) the Houſe of Commons thought fit to recite it *in hæc verba*; and inſtead of retracting the Order, to repay that money with all poſſible ſpeed.

The Order. *July* 30.

It is this day Ordered by the Commons Houſe of Parliament, That the Treaſurers appointed to receive the Moneys come in upon the Subſcriptions for Ireland, *do forthwith furniſh, by way of Loan, unto the Committee of Lords and Commons for the defence of the Kingdom, the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds, for the ſupply of the publike neceſſity, for defence of the King, Parliament, and Kingdom, upon the publike Faith, to be repayed duely and carefully within ſo ſhort a time, that it ſhall not be diverted from that purpoſe for which it was intended, or any way fruſtrate the Acts already made in the behalf of that Adventure.*

During the time of theſe Paper-conflicts, the King in perſon had often removed, and viſited many places. To the Gentry of *Leiceſterſhire* he made a Speech on the 20 of *July*, after his uſual manner, with Proteſtations of his great love to the people, and care of the Kingdom. And from thence removing Northward, on the fourth of *Auguſt* he made a Speech after the ſame manner to the Gentry of *York-ſhire*; from whence he returned back to *Nottingham*, and there ſet up his Standard Royal. Very few people reſorted to it. Nor had the King at this time a conſiderable ſtrength to guard his Perſon, if any attempts had been to have ſeized upon him. From *Nottingham*, on the 25 of *Auguſt*, the King ſent a Meſſage to the Parliament by the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorſet*, and Sir JOHN CULPEPER, one of the Members of the Houſe of Commons, who had deſerted the Parliament, and went to the King at *York*; having not long before been made by him Chancellour of the Exchequer.

The

The King's Meſſage to both Houſes of Parliament from *Nottingham*, Aug. 25. 1642.

We have with unſpeakable grief of heart long beheld the Diſtractions of this Our Kingdom. Our very Soul is full of Anguiſh, until We may finde ſome Remedy to prevent the Miſeries which are ready to overwhelm this whole Nation by a Civil War. And though all Our endeavours tending to the compoſing of thoſe unhappie Differences betwixt Us and Our two Houſes of Parliament (though purſued by Us with all Zeal and Sincerity) have been hitherto without that Succeſſe we hoped for; yet ſuch is Our conſtant and earneſt care to preſerve the publike Peace, that We ſhall not be diſcouraged from uſing any Expedient, which by the bleſſing of the God of mercy may lay a firm foundation of Peace and Happineſſe to all Our good Subjects. To this end obſerving that many Miſtakes have ariſen by the Meſſages, Petitions and Anſwers betwixt Us and Our two Houſes of Parliament; which haply may be prevented by ſome other way of Treaty, wherein the matters in difference may be more clearly underſtood, and more freely tranſacted: We have thought fit to propound to you, That ſome fit perſons may be by you enabled to treat with the like number to be authorized by Us, in ſuch a manner, and with ſuch freedom of Debate, as may beſt tend to that happie Concluſion which all good men deſire, The Peace of the Kingdom. Wherein, as We promiſe in the word of a King, all ſafety and encouragement to ſuch as ſhall be ſent unto Us, if you ſhall chuſe the place where We are for the Treaty, which we wholly leave to you, preſuming the like care of the ſafety of thoſe We ſhall employ, if you ſhall name another place: So We aſſure you and all Our good Subjects, that (to the beſt of Our underſtanding) nothing ſhall be therein wanting on our part, which may advance the true Proteſtant Religion, oppoſe Popery and Superſtition, ſecure the Law of the Land (upon which is built as well Our juſt Prerogative,

tive, as the Propriety and Liberty of the Subject) confirm all juſt Power and Priviledges of Parliament, and render Us and Our people truely happie, by a true underſtanding betwixt Us and Our two Houſes of Parliament. Bring with you as firm reſolutions to do your duty, and let all Our People joyn with Us in Our prayers to Almighty God for his bleſſing upon this Work.

If this Propoſition ſhall be rejected by you, We have done Our duty ſo amply, that God will abſolve Us from the guilt of any of that blood which muſt be ſpilt. And what opinion ſoever other men may have of Our Power, We aſſure you, nothing but Our Chriſtian and pious care to prevent the effuſion of blood, hath begot this motion; Our proviſion of Men, Arms and Money being ſuch, as may ſecure Us from further violence, till it pleaſe God to open the eyes of Our People.

The Anſwer of the Lords and Commons to the King's Meſſage of the 25 of *Auguſt*, 1642.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſtie:

"The Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſem-
"bled having received Your Majeſties Meſſage of the
"25 of *Auguſt*, do with much grief reſent the dan-
"gerous and diſtracted ſtate of this Kingdom, which
"we have by all means endeavoured to prevent, both
"by our ſeveral Advices and Petitions to Your Maje-
"ſtie, which have been not onely without ſucceſſe, but
"there hath followed that, which no evil Counſel in
"former times hath produced, or any age hath ſeen,
"Thoſe ſeveral Proclamations and Declarations a-
"gainſt both the Houſes of Parliament, whereby their
"Actions are declared Treaſonable, and their Perſons
"Traitours; and thereupon Your Majeſtie hath ſet
"up Your Standard againſt them, whereby you have
"put the two Houſes of Parliament, and in them this
"whole Kingdom, out of Your Protection: So that
"until Your Majeſtie ſhall recal thoſe Proclamations

"and

"and Declarations whereby the Earl of *Eſſex* and both "Houſes of Parliament, their adherents and aſſiſtants, "and all ſuch as have obeyed and executed their Com- "mands and Directions, according to their duties, are "declared Traitors, or otherwiſe Delinquents; and "until the Standard, ſet up in purſuance of the ſaid "Proclamations, be taken down, Your Majeſtie hath "put us into ſuch a condition, that, whilſt we ſo re- "main, we cannot by the Fundamental Priviledges of "Parliament, the publike Truſt repoſed in us, or with "the general good and ſafety of this Kingdom, give "Your Majeſtie any other Anſwer to this Meſſage.

Within few days after, the King ſent Inſtructions under his Privie Signet to his Commiſſioners of *Array* for the ſeveral Counties of *England* and *Wales*; as to Marqueſſe *Hartford*, whom the King had made Lieute-tenant-General of all the Weſtern Counties, as is be-fore expreſſed; to the Earl of *Cumberland*, Lord-Lieu-tenant of *York-ſhire*; and the Lord STRANGE, Lieute-nant for *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*: in which Inſtructi-ons he commands them to purſue the Earl of *Eſſex*, whom he again calls Rebel and Traitour.

Immediately after, the King ſent a Reply to that Anſwer of the Parliament to his laſt Meſſage of the 25 of *Auguſt*; which being ſhort, that the Reader may the more truely inform himſelf of the nature of this ſtrange diviſion, I ſhall wholly inſert in the very words.

We will not repeat what means We have uſed to prevent the dangerous and diſtracted eſtate of the Kingdom, nor how thoſe means have been in-terpreted, becauſe, being deſirous to avoid effuſion of blood, We are willing to decline all memory of former Bitterneſſe, that might make Our offer of a Treaty leſſe readily accepted. We never did de-

clare

clare, nor ever intended to declare both Our Houſes of Parliament Traitours, or ſet up Our Standard againſt them; and much leſſe to put them and this Kingdom out of Our protection: We utterly profeſſe againſt it before God and the world. And further, to remove all poſſible Scruples which may hinder the Treaty ſo much deſired by Us; We hereby promiſe, ſo that a day be appointed by you for the revoking of your Declarations againſt all perſons as Traitours or otherwiſe for aſſiſting Us, We ſhall with all cheerfulneſſe upon the ſame day recal our Proclamations and Declarations, and take down Our Standard. In which Treaty, We ſhall be ready to grant any thing that ſhall be really for the good of Our ſubjects: conjuring you to conſider the bleeding condition of Ireland, *and the dangerous condition of* England, *in as high a degree, as by theſe Our Offers We have declared Our Self to do: and aſſuring you, that Our chief deſire in the world, is to beget a good underſtanding and mutual confidence betwixt Us and Our two Houſes of Parliament.*

To the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſtie:

The humble Anſwer and Petition of the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament to the King's laſt Meſſage.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſtie:

"If we the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſ-
"ſembled ſhould repeat all the ways we have taken,
"the endeavours we have uſed, and the expreſſions we
"have

"have made unto Your Majeſtie, to prevent thoſe "diſtractions and dangers Your Majeſtie ſpeaks of, we "ſhould too much enlarge this Reply: therefore as we "Humbly, ſo ſhall we Onely let Your Majeſtie know, "that we cannot recede from our former Anſwer, for "the reaſons therein expreſſed: for that Your Maje-"ſtie hath not taken down Your Standard, recalled "Your Proclamations and Declarations whereby You "have declared the Actions of both Houſes of Parlia-"ment to be Treaſonable, and their Perſons Traitors: "And You have publiſhed the ſame ſince Your Meſ-"ſage the 25 of *Auguſt*, by Your late Inſtructions to "Your Commiſſioners of *Array*. Which Standard "being taken down, and the Declarations, Proclama-"tions and Inſtructions recalled; if Your Majeſtie "ſhall then upon this our humble Petition, leaving "your Forces, return unto Your Parliament, and re-"ceive their faithful advice, Your Majeſtie ſhall finde "ſuch expreſſions of our fidelities and duties, as ſhall "aſſure You that Your Safety, Honour and Greatneſſe "can onely be found in the affections of Your People, "and the ſincere Counſels of Your Parliament, whoſe "conſtant and undiſcouraged endeavours and conſul-"tations have paſſed thorow difficulties unheard of, "onely to ſecure Your Kingdoms from the violent "miſchiefs and dangers now ready to fall upon them; "who deſerve better of Your Majeſtie, and can never "allow themſelves (repreſenting likewiſe Your whole "Kingdom) to be balanced with thoſe perſons whoſe "deſperate diſpoſitions and counſels prevail ſtill ſo to "interrupt all our endeavours for the relieving of "bleeding *Ireland*, as we may fear our labours and vaſt "expences will be fruitleſſe to that diſtreſſed Kingdom. "As Your Preſence is thus humbly deſired by us; ſo it "is in our hopes that Your Majeſtie will in Your Rea-"ſon believe, There is no other way then this, to make "Your Majeſties Self happie, and Your Kingdoms "ſafe.

The

The Parliament, immediately after, published a Declaration, that the Arms which they were enforced to take up for the preservation of the Kingdom, Laws and Liberties, could not be laid down, until the King should withdraw his Protection from such persons as had been voted Delinquents by both Houses, and leave them to the Justice of Parliament.

The King, within few days after, made another Reply to the last Answer of the Parliament. The substance of it was, that he could neither do nor offer any more then he had already: and that he should think himself clear and innocent from any blood that might be spilt in this Quarrel; praying God so to deal with him and his posterity, as he desired to preserve Religion, Law, and Liberty of the Subjects, and Priviledge of Parliament. The Parliament returned Answer, that while the King thinks himself bound in Honour to protect such Delinquents, in whose preservation the Kingdom cannot be safe, nor the Rights of Parliament at all maintained, but must needs fall into utter contempt; they must needs think he hath not done what he can or ought to do. They tell him it is impossible that any reasonable man should believe him to be so tender of bleeding *Ireland*, when at the same time divers of the Irish Traitours, the known favourers of them, and agents for them, are admitted into his Presence with grace and favour, and some of them employed in his service.

THE HISTORY OF THE PARLIAMENT OF England.

The third Booke.

CHAP. I.

Prince RUPERT *and Prince* MAURICE *arrive in* England. *The Earle of* ESSEX *taking leave of the Parliament, goeth to his Command. The King increaſeth in ſtrength at* Shrewsbury. *A Skirmiſh at* Worceſter. *The great Battell of* Keynton *is fought.*

ABout the beginning of this *September* Prince RUPERT, ſecond Sonne to FREDERICK Prince Elector Palatine of the *Rhene*, who had long beene detained Priſoner of Warre by the Emperour, and newly releaſed, arrived in *England*, to offer his Service to the King his Uncle

in thoſe Warres, which were now viſibly begun in this unhappy Kingdome; together with him came his younger Brother Prince MAURICE, an addition rather of Gallantry then ſtrength to the Kings ſide, being both young and unexperienced Souldiers. Neither indeed, though they were neere in birth to the Crowne of *England*, were they neere enough to adde any ſecurity to the King, by purchaſing the Peoples hatred to themſelves; though that were imagined, and talked of by many, as the cauſe why they were ſent for. Their elder Brother, CHARLES, Prince Elector, might have ſerved more fitly to play that part: But he, having long remained in the Court of *Englaud*, had lately left the King, not above two Moneths before the arrivall of his Brothers; The reaſons why he went away were partly expreſſed by himſelfe afterward in a Meſſage, which he ſent out of *Holland* to the Houſes of Parliament, wherein he profeſſed ſorrow for theſe diſtractions, and proteſted that whileſt he was in the Court of *England*, he had by all meanes indeavoured to bring the King into a good opinion of his Parliament; acknowledging that his owne intereſt, and that of the Proteſtant Religion in *Germany*, did more depend upon the happineſſe of the Engliſh Parliament, then upon any thing elſe under God. True it is, that this Prince left not the King, untill he ſaw the rent betweene him and his Parliament too great to cloſe; and having before been expoſed by the King to ſome probability of envy, as when he attended his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons for ſurprizall of the five Members; and with him afterwards, when ſome things unpleaſing to the people had been done; he might in likelihood, being of that opinion that he was of this cauſe, thinke it the wiſeſt way to take a faire leave in time of the King.

Theſe two young Princes arrived in *England*, were ſoone put into imployment and Command under the King

King their Uncle, in which they ſhewed themſelves very forward and active, as will appeare afterward, and if more hot and furious then the tender beginnings of a Civill Warre would ſeeme to require, it may be imputed to the fervour of their youth, and great deſire which they had to ingratiate themſelves to the King; upon whom, as being no more then Souldiers of fortune, their hopes of advancement wholly depended.

Prince RUPERT, the elder brorher, and moſt furious of the two, within a fortnight after his arrivall, commanded a ſmall party of thoſe Forces which the King had at that time gathered together, which were not of ſo great a body as to be tearmed an Army, with which he marched into divers Counties, to roll himſelfe like a ſnow ball, into a larger bulke, by the acceſſion of Forces in every place: Through divers parts of *Warwick-ſhire*, *Nottingham-ſhire*, *Leiceſter-ſhire*, *Worceſter-ſhire*, and *Cheſhire*, did this young Prince fly with thoſe Troops which he had, not inviting the people ſo much by faire demeanour (for ſuch was the report to the Houſes of Parliament) as compelling them by extreme rigour ro follow that ſide which he had taken. Many Townes and Villages he plundered, which is to ſay robb'd (for at that time firſt was the word plunder uſed in *England*, being borne in *Germany*, when that ſtately Country was ſo miſerably waſted and pillaged by forraigne Armies) and committed other outrages upon thoſe who ſtood affected to the Parliament, executing ſome, and hanging up ſervants at their Maſters doores, for not diſcovering of their Maſters. Upon which newes, the Houſes of Parliament fell into a ſerious debate, and agreed that a Charge of High Treaſon ſhould be drawne up againſt him, for indeavouring the deſtruction of this State, which was voted a great breach of the Kingdoms Lawes, and breach of the priviledge of that great Councell, repreſenting the whole ſtate of it.

Let it not ſeeme amiſſe in this place to inſert a paſſage, happening at the ſame time, which cannot be omitted by reaſon of the eminence of that perſon whom it concernes, in the ſucceeding Warres.

Colonell GORING, who was before ſpoken of to keepe the Towne of *Portſmouth* againſt the Parliament, being now no longer able to hold it out, was permitted by Captaine MERRICK, not without allowance from the Earle of *Warwick*, to leave the place, and to be conveyed to the *Brill* in *Holland*, according to his owne deſire: This the Parliament were contented with, becauſe the Captaine was neceſſitated to agree to it, for preſervation of that Towne, and many perſons therein well affected to the Parliament; for GORING had threatned to deſtroy the Towne with wilde-fire, if he might not preſerve his owne life by a peaceable ſurrender.

Whileſt Prince RUPERT was thus active with a flying Party, the King himſelfe was moving with thoſe Forces which he had, but in a gentler and calmer way; for the reverence which the people bare to his Perſon, made him finde leſſe reſiſtance; as windes loſe their fury when they meet no oppoſition; but howſoever, the King deſired to go in ſuch a way, as to be taken for a Father of his Country, and a Prince injur'd by the Parliament; profeſſions of love, perſwaſions, and Proteſtations of his affection to the people, were the chiefe inſtruments which he uſed to raiſe himſelfe a ſtrength, and complaints againſt the proceedings and actions of the Parliament; as when he was marching toward *Shrewsbury*, where he intended to make his chiefe Rendezvouze, being a place convenient to receive and entertaine ſuch Forces as ſhould come to him out of *Wales*: Which place (as will appeare afterward) failed not his expectation, though it were more then the Parliament could ſuſpect. As he was marching thither with a ſmall Army, he made a Speech betweene *Stafford* and *Wellington*, on

on the 19. of *September*, and cauſed his Proteſtation to be then alſo read in the head of his Army; wherein among other things, he tells them (for their comfort and hope to prevaile) that they ſhould meet no Enemies but Traytors, moſt of them Browniſts, Anabaptiſts, and Atheiſts, who would deſtroy both Church and Common-wealth. And in this Proteſtation, with deepe vowes, and imprecations upon himſelfe and his poſterity, he declares his whole care and intentions to be for the maintenance of the Proteſtant Religion, the Lawes and property of the Subject, together with the Priviledge of Parliament, as he was accuſtomed to do in his former Speeches.

But the King not many daies before, had taken a more harſh and coercive way; for marching thorow *Derbyſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, and *Nottinghamſhire*, he commanded the Trayned Bands of thoſe Counties to attend and guard his Perſon; and when they were met, diſarmed the greateſt part of them, taking as many Armes as ſerved for 2000. men, beſides good ſummes of Money, which, not without ſome conſtraint, he borrowed from them.

But to leave the Kings proceedings for a while, it is time to returne to the Lord Generall for the Parliament, and the Army raiſed under his conduct; which at that time, when Prince RUPERT began to march, was growne to a conſiderable body, conſiſting of about 14 thouſand Horſe and Foot; their generall Rendezvouze was at *Northampton*, where many of the chiefe Commanders, as the Lord BROOKE, Lord ROBERTS, Colonell HAMDEN, and others, ſtayed with them, expecting the preſence of his Excellence, who on the ninth of *September* taking his leave of the Parliament and City of *London*, bent his journey toward *Northampton*, and was waited on by the Trayned Bands, and a great number of armed Gentlemen from *Eſſex* Houſe to the end of the

City with great ſolemnity. But the love and wiſhes of the people that did attend him, were farre greater then any outward ſignification could expreſſe: To whom he ſeemed at that time, though going to a Civill Warre, as much an Engliſh man, and as true a Patriot, as if he had gone againſt a forraigne Enemy. Great was the love and honour which the people in generall bore to his Perſon, in regard of his owne vertue, and honourable demeanour; and much increaſed by the Memory of his noble Father, the higheſt example that ever I yet read, of a Favourite both to Prince and people; of whom that was moſt true, which VELLEIUS PATERCULUS ſpeaks with flattery and falſhood of SEJANUS, *In quo cum judicio Principis certabant ſtudia populi*, The peoples love ſtrived to match the Prince his judgement. That Cauſe, wherein the Earle of ESSEX had ingaged himſelfe, ſeemed to them religious enough to require their prayers for the ſucceſſe of it: For the Parliament, though they raiſed an Army, expreſſed much humility and reverence to the Kings Perſon; for not many daies after the departure of the Lord Generall, by conſent of both Houſes, a Petition to the King was drawne up, to be carried by Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, often ſpoken of before, and at this time a Colonell in the Lord Generals Army. This Petition he carried to *Northampton* to the Generall, to be by him preſented (according to the Parliaments deſire) to His Majeſty, in a ſafe and honourable way: In which Petition nothing at all (according to their former Declarations) is charged upon the King himſelfe, but only upon his wicked Councell; and the former miſ-governments briefly mentioned; and that this wicked Councell have raiſed an horrid Rebellion and Maſſacre in *Ireland*; and ever ſince, by oppoſition againſt the Parliament, hindered the reliefe of that Kingdom, and at laſt drawne his Majeſty to make a War upon his

his Parliament, leading an Army in Perſon, to the deſtruction of his people, depriving his good Subjects of his Majeſties protection, and protecting thoſe Traytors againſt the Juſtice and Authority of Parliament.

WE *the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, have* (for theſe are the words of the Petition) *for the juſt and neceſſary defence of the Proteſtant Religion, of your Majeſties Perſon, Crowne, and Dignity, of the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome, and the Priviledges and power of Parliaments, taken up Armes, appointed and authorized* ROBERT *Earle of* ESSEX, *to be Captaine Generall of all the Forces by us raiſed, to conduct the ſame againſt thoſe Rebels and Traytors, to ſubdue and bring them to condigne puniſhment: And we do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, to withdraw your Royall Preſence and Countenance from theſe wicked perſons; and if they ſhall ſtand out in defence of their rebellious and unlawfull attempts, that your Majeſty will leave them to be ſuppreſt by that Power which we have ſent againſt them; And that your Majeſty will not mix your owne dangers with theirs, but in peace and ſafety, without your Forces, forthwith returne to your Parliament, and by their faithfull advice compoſe the preſent diſtempers and confuſions abounding in both your Kingdomes, and provide for the ſecurity and honour of your ſelfe and Royall Poſterity, and the proſperous eſtate of all your Subjects. Wherein if your Majeſty pleaſe to yeeld to our moſt humble and earneſt deſires; We do in the preſence of Almighty God profeſſe, That we will receive your Majeſty with all Honour, yeeld you all due obedience and ſubjection, and faithfully indeavour to ſecure your Perſon and Eſtate from all dangers; and to the uttermoſt of our Power, to procure and eſtabliſh to your ſelfe, and to your People, all the bleſſings of a glorious and happy Reigne.*

According

According to this Petition were thoſe Directions from the Parliament to the Lord Generall ſent at the ſame time; wherein the Lord Generall is required by the Houſes, to uſe his utmoſt indeavour by Battell or otherwiſe, to reſcue the Kings Perſon, the Perſons of the Prince, and Duke of *Yorke*, out of the hands of thoſe deſperate perſons now about them. Another Direction was, That if his Majeſty upon this humble Petition, ſhould be pleaſed to withdraw himſelfe from the perſons now about him, and returne to the Parliament, that then the Lord Generall ſhould disband, and ſhould ſerve and defend his Majeſty with a ſufficient ſtrength in his returne. Another Direction was, That his Excellency ſhould proclaime pardon to all thoſe who were at that time ſeduced againſt their Parliament and Country, if within ten daies after that Proclamation they would returne to their duty, doing no hoſtile act within the time limited: Provided that this ſhould not extend to admit any man into either Houſe of Parliament, who ſtands ſuſpended, without giving ſatisfaction to that Houſe whereof he was a Member; and excepting all perſons impeached for Delinquency by either Houſe, and thoſe perſons who have been eminent Actors in theſe Treaſons, and therefore impeached in Parliament of High Treaſon; ſuch as were at that time declared, and there named; the Earles of *Briſtoll*, *Cumberland*, *Newcaſtle*, and *Rivers*, Secretary NICHOLAS, Maſter ENDYMION PORTER, Maſter EDWARD HIDE, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earle of *Carnarvan*, Viſcount *Newarke*, and Viſcount *Fawkland*; Theſe were the perſons at that time voted againſt, and declared Traytors, though afterwards others were added to the number of them, and many of theſe left out, as occaſions altered.

Such Directions, and others for the advantage of the Army, and behooſe of the Countries, thorow which he was to march, were given by the Parliament to

to his Excellency; but above all things to reſtraine carefully all impieties, prophanneſſe, and diſorders in his Army.

The Generall arriving at *Northampton*, was there poſſeſſed of a great and gallant Army, well furniſhed at all points, conſiſting of about twenty thouſand, with thoſe that within few daies were to come thither: An Army too great to finde reſiſtance at that time from any Forces a foot in *England*; for the Kings ſide had then ſmall ſtrength: What they had, conſiſted of Horſe, who in ſmall Parties roved up and downe, to make Proviſion, and force Contribution in ſeverall places. Prince RUPERT eſpecially, like a perpetuall motion, with thoſe Horſe which he commanded, was in ſhort time heard of at many places of great diſtance. The care therefore which his Excellency eſpecially tooke, was ſo to divide his great Army, as to make the ſeverall parts of it uſefull, both to annoy the ſtragling Troops of the Enemy, and ptotect thoſe Counties that ſtood affected to the Parliament, as alſo to poſſeſſe himſelfe, either in his owne Perſon, or by his Lieutenants, of ſuch Towns as he thought might be of beſt import, if this ſad War ſhould happen to continue.

From *Northampton* he marched to *Coventry*, to make that conſiderable City a Garriſon for the Parliament; and from thence to *Warwick*; and having fortified that Towne, marched away towards *Worceſter*, upon intelligence that the King himſelfe intended to come thither with his Forces; for his deſire was to finde out the King; and the Parliament, to whom he imparted his deſigne by Letter, approved well of his advance towards *Worceſter*.

The City of *Worceſter*, as well as the whole County, had beene in great diſtractions, by reaſon not only of the diſſenting affections of the Inhabitants, but the frequent invitations from both ſides; if we may call that an invitation, which is made by armed force.

Sir JOHN BYRON had firſt entred *Worceſter* for the Kings ſide, whom Maſter FIENNES Sonne to the Lord SAY, had oppoſed for the Parliament; and afterward Prince RUPERT with five hundred Horſe, not farre from the City, was encountred by Maſter FIENNES, who commanded another Body about that number; the skirmiſh was but ſmall, and not above twelve men ſlaine, as the report was made at *London*. But before the Lord Generall could arrive at *Worceſter*, (who was marching thither from *Warwick*, as was before expreſſed) there happened a fight there, not to be omitted, in regard of the perſons that were there ſlaine or wounded, though the number of men in generall that fell were ſmall. Prince RUPERT was then at *Worceſter* with twelve Troops of Horſe, when about that City divers of the Parliaments Forces were, though not joyned in one Body, but diſperſed: The Prince marched out of the City into a greene Meadow, and there ſet his men in Battell Array, to encounter whom he could firſt light upon. Within halfe a mile of that Field were the Parliament Troops, Colonell SANDYS with his Regiment of Horſe, Captaine HALES, and Captaine WINGATE, who made toward the Prince; but their paſſage was very diſadvantagious, as being thorow a narrow Lane, where onely foure of a breaſt could march: Colonell SANDYS, whoſe fault was too much courage, charging with his owne Regiment thorow that Lane, too ſoone, before the reſt of the Parliament Forces could come up (for beſides the forenamed Captains, HALES and WINGATE, Captaine FIENNES, and Captaine AUSTIN, were not farre off, and marching apace to their aſſiſtance) made notwithſtanding ſome ſlaughter of the Prince his men, and maintained the Fight untill the mentioned Forces approached the place; but then the Prince, the two ſides growing into ſome equality of number, fearing, perchance, to be too long ingaged

in

in a Fight, untill the Lord Generals Army might approach, ſome of the fore-runners not being farre off, retreated back into the City of *Worceſter*, thorow which he marched away with as much ſpeed as he could, the Parliament Forces following him thorow the Towne, and ſo over a Bridge, about which ſome of the Parliament Dragoneers were placed, who cut off twenty of the Prince his Troopers, and tooke thirty Priſoners. There were found dead at the place of their firſt incounter 13. men. There were ſlaine of the Parliament ſide of note, Colonell SANDS his Cornet, who firſt of all fell, and Serjeant Major DOUGLAS; Colonell SANDS himſelfe was deſperately wounded, of which wounds he died about a Moneth after. It was reported that Colonell WILMOT, of whom we have ſpoken before, and who was afterward an eminent Champion on the Kings ſide, was in this conflict runne thorow the body by Colonell SANDS.

His Excellency immediately after this fight, came to *Worceſter* with his Army, where he reſolved to quarter a while, as a place convenient to ſend out Parties upon all occaſions, and watch the motion of the Kings Forces. This diſcourſe ſhall here leave him, and relate the paſſages of the other Armies.

Prince RUPERT having left *Worceſter*, marched with his Troops to *Ludlow*, twenty miles diſtant thence; and the King with a ſmall Body of Horſe, paſſed into *Wales*, and having made a Speech full of Proteſtations, to the Inhabitants of *Denbigh* and *Flintſhire*, and gained ſome Parties there, the next day he marched to *Shrewsbury*, where he intended to quarter for a time, as a fit Rendezvouze for thoſe Forces expected from *Wales*, and other neere adjacent parts. To *Shrewsbury* the King cauſed a Mint to be brought, and there coyned all the Plate which he then had, or was then and ſoone after preſented to him; for many Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, about that time had

had furniſhed the King, not onely with Horſes and Armes, but Money and Plate, as the Citizens of *London*, and other Gentlemen had done to the Parliament, upon their Publike Faith, as is before expreſſed. It is a wonderfull thing, almoſt beyond what himſelfe could hope, or the Parliament ſuſpect, how much and how ſuddenly the King grew in ſtrength, in that little time that he quartered at *Shrewsbury*; The King, within few daies after his coming thither, had in publike, to the Gentry, Freeholders, and other Inhabitants of that County, made an Oration full of perſwaſive Art, and ſuch winning expreſſions, as fitted the purpoſe he had in hand, ſuch as might render him to the thoughts of thoſe people, an injur'd Prince, and move compaſſionate affections toward him. Which Speech of his, as it was reported and printed in *London*, I ſhall here inſert.

Gentlemen:

IT is ſome benefit to me, from the inſolencies and misfortunes which have driven me about, that they have brought me to ſo good a part of my Kingdome, and to ſo faithfull a part of my People: I hope neither you nor I ſhall repent my coming hither; I will do my part that you may not; and of you I was confident before I came. The reſidence of an Army is not uſually pleaſant to any place; and mine may carry more feare with it, ſince it may be thought (being robb'd and ſpoiled of all mine owne, and ſuch terrour uſed to fright and keep all men from ſupplying of me) I muſt onely live upon the aid and reliefe of my people. But be not afraid; I would to God my poore Subjects ſuffered no more by the inſolence and violence of that Army raiſed againſt me (though they have made themſelves wanton even with plenty) then you ſhall do by mine; and yet I feare I cannot prevent all diſorders; I will do my beſt: And this I promiſe you, No man ſhall be a looſer by me, if I can help it.

I have ſent hither for a Mint; I will melt downe all my

my owne Plate, and expoſe all my Land to ſale or mor-gage, that if it be poſſible, I may bring the leaſt preſ-ſure upon you: In the meane time, I have ſummoned you hither to do that for me and your ſelves, for the maintenance of your Religion, and the Law of the Land (by which you enjoy all that you have) which other men do againſt us. Do not ſuffer ſo good a Cauſe to be loſt, for want of ſupplying me with that, which will be taken from you by thoſe who purſue me with this violence. And whileſt theſe ill men ſacrifice their Money, Plate, and utmoſt induſtry to deſtroy the Common-wealth, be you no leſſe liberall to preſerve it. Aſſure your ſelves, if it pleaſe God to bleſſe me with ſucceſſe, I ſhall remember the aſ-ſiſtance that every particular man here gives me, to his advantage. However, it will hereafter (how furiouſly ſoever the minds of men are now poſſeſſed) be honour and comfort to you, that with ſome charge and trouble to your ſelves, you did your part to ſupport your King, and preſerve the Kingdome.

But with ſuch skill had the King managed his affaires there, and ſo much had fortune crowned his indeavours, that before the middle of *October*, which was about three weekes after his firſt comming to *Shrewsbury*, with an inconſiderable Body of an Army, he was growne to a great ſtrength, conſiſting of about ſix thouſand Foot, three thouſand brave Horſe, and almoſt two thouſand Dragoneers; And purpoſing about that time to remove from thence, he iſſued out Warrants to the Inhabitants of *Shrewsbury*, and other adjacent Townes and Villages, to ſend Horſes and Carts for his removall.

The King marched a long within the view of *Coventry*, but not intending to loſe any time there in ſitting downe before it, unleſſe the Towne had been freely ſurrendred to him: But that was denyed, though in a very humble Meſſage, by the Governour of it. Marching on, he came and lay at *Southam*, when

the Lord Generall *Eſſex* was not many miles diſtant from him. So much was the King now growne in ſtrength, that he was able, at ſo great a diſtance, to ſtrike ſome terrour into the City of *London* it ſelfe, and provoke their ſedulous indeavour for a defence againſt his feared approach, though the Lord Generall *Eſſex* with as great an Army, were then abroad to attend his Marches. The Parliament it ſelfe tooke the buſineſſe into their ſtrict care: For both Houſes conceiving that the City was in imminent danger of the Kings Forces, ordered, That the Trayned Bands thereof ſhould be ſpeedily raiſed for a Guard; That ſuch Fortifications as could ſuddenly be made, ſhould not be wanting; That a Committee ſhould be appointed to conſider of the preſent ſetting up Courts of Guard, and raiſing Works, for planting of Ordnance in ſpeciall places about the City and Suburbs. According to which Order many hundreds of men fell preſently to worke, in digging of Trenches, and other Bulwarks. It was Ordered likewiſe, That the Trayned Bands of *London*, *Middleſex*, and *Surrey*, ſhould be put into a readineſſe; And that the cloſe Committee, by help of the Lord Mayor, ſhould with all diligence ſearch out, and ſecure the perſons of all the ill-affected Citizens, or the chiefe of them, that were ſuſpected to be moſt able, or active, to raiſe a Party againſt the Parliament.

Twelve Companies of *London*, were by Order of Parliament ſent to *Windſor*, to poſſeſſe and ſecure that Caſtle; and many Seamen raiſed to guard the paſſages of the River *Thames*.

The Parliament about that time conſidering how much theſe Civill diſtractions increaſed over the whole Kingdome, paſſed a Vote, That it was and ſhould be lawfull for all Counties in *England* to enter into an Aſſociation, for mutuall defence of each other, of their Religion, Lawes, and Liberties. Whereupon, within a ſhort time after, *Buckingham*, *Hartford*, and

and *Nottinghamſhire*, began to aſſociate after that manner, raiſed Forces for the Parliament, and advanced both Plate and Money upon their Propoſitions.

The danger that ſeemed to threaten *London* at that time, though diſtant in place, yet in reaſon was neer. For the Kings Army was judged to be neerer to it, then the Lord Generals was; and it was probable enough, that his deſires would rather lead him to attempt the City, then to ingage againſt the Army; and it was thought and ſpoken by ſome, that *London* was a place where he had many friends, who upon the approach of ſuch an Army, would appeare for him, and to facilitate his atchievements, would fill the City with inteſtine tumults and ſeditions. That *London* was the onely place where the Parliament was to be totally ſuppreſſed, and his Army inriched to the height of their deſires. But others were of opinion, that ſuch an attempt, as it was prepoſterous, would prove fruſtrate, and that the City could not be gained, unleſſe the Army were firſt ſubdued. For beſides the conſideration, that the ſuppoſed Party for the King in *London*, were not in probability of power enough to accompliſh his ends, it might be thought they were not ſo deſperately inclined to him, as to throw themſelves and eſtates into ſuch hazard, as muſt be undergone in the confuſed rage of a licentious Army. The maine reaſon againſt it was, That the Lord Generall *Eſſex*, with an Army as ſtrong as the Kings, would follow his March neere at hand, and by the help of thoſe Forces which the City of *London* would powre forth upon him, utterly ruine his incloſed Army. But howſoever the counſels were, it pleaſed God that it was brought to a Battell, to which probably the King might be the more invited by that advantage of the abſence of a great part of the Parliaments Army.

This famous Battell, called by ſome the Battell of *Edgehill*, by others the Battell of *Keynton* (that

Keynton

Keymton is a little Towne in *Warwickſhire*, almoſt in the mid way betweene *Stratford* upon *Avon* and *Banbury*) was fought on a Sunday, being the 23. day of *October*. The King on Saturday the 22. of *October*, came within ſix miles of *Keymton*, and that night at *Cropredy*, and *Edgecot* lodged his great Army, conſiſting of about 14000. Foot, and about 4000. Horſe and Dragoneers; a farre greater number then the Lord Generall *Eſſex* had together at that time (though his whole Army conſiſted of more,) for that opportunity the King tooke of the abſence of many Regiments of the Parliament. The Lord Generall *Eſſex* on that Saturday night quartered at *Keymton* with his Army, conſiſting then but of 12. Regiments, and about 40. Troops of Horſe, little in all exceeding the number of 10000. men; the reaſon why his Forces at that time were no more in number, was, beſides that by reaſon of the ſuddenneſſe of his march, and diligence to follow the Kings Army, he had left behinde two Regiments of his Foot, one under the Command of Colonell HAMDEN, the other of Colonell GRANTHAM, together with 11. Troops of Horſe, behinde but one daies March, and left to bring on the Artillery, which was ſeven Peeces of Canon, with great ſtore of Ammunition, and came not to *Keymton* till the Battell was quite ended; the Lord Generall alſo had before left for preſervation of the Countries thereabout (and whom on ſuch a ſudden he could not call together to his Aſſiſtance) one Regiment of Foot, and two Troops of Horſe, under command of the Earle of *Stamford*, at *Hereford*, that the power of *Wales* might not fall into *Gloceſterſhire*; another Regiment was left at *Worceſter*, another at *Coventry*, for the ſafety of that Towne, and one Regiment occaſionally lodged then in *Banbury*.

In *Keymton* the Lord Generall intended to reſt Sunday, to expect the reſidue of his Forces and Artillery, but in the morning the Enemy was diſcovered not far off,

off, which made him give preſent order for drawing that Army which he had there into the field; the Kings Forces had gotten the advantage of a very high and ſteepe aſcent, called *Edgehill*, from whence they were diſcovered that morning; not farre from the foot of that hill, was a broad Champion, called, *The vale of the red Horſe*, a name ſuitable to the colour which that day was to beſtow upon it, for there happened the greateſt part of the encounter. Into that field the Lord Generall was forced preſently to march, making a ſtand about halfe a mile diſtant from the foot of *Edgehill*, where he drew his Army into *Battalia*, and ſaw the Kings Forces deſcending the Hill, ready for their incounter; that Army at the firſt having two advantages, of the hill, and of the winde; it was full of skilfull Commanders, and well ordered; their greateſt Body of Horſe was on the right wing, on the left were ſome Horſe and Dragoneers.

The Parliament Army was drawne up, and put into *Battalia* upon a little riſing ground in the forenamed Vale, the Foot being, many of them, a good ſpace behind the Horſe, when the Charge began. Three Regiments of Horſe were on the right wing, the Lord Generals owne Regiment, commanded by Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, Sir WILLIAM BAFORES Regiment, who was Lieutenant Generall of the Horſe; and the Lord FIELDINGS Regiment, which ſtood behinde the other two, in the way of a Reſerve; Sir JOHN MELDRUMS Brigado had the Van; Colonell ESSEX was in the middle; the Lord Generals Regiment, the Lord BROOKE, and Colonell HOLLIS, were in the Reare; in the left wing were about 20. Troops of Horſe, commanded by Sir JAMES RAMSEY their Commiſſary Generall. In this poſture they ſtood, when the other Army advanced toward them, the ſtrength of their Horſe being (as aforeſaid) on their right wing, oppoſite to the left wing of the Parliament Army.

The Canon on both ſides with a loud thunder began the Fight, in which the ſucceſſe was not equall, the Parliaments Canon doing great execution upon their Enemies, but theirs very little.

The Earle of *Lindſey*, Generall for the King, with a Pike in his hand, led on the maine Body of that Army, in which was the Kings owne Regiment, incountred by the Lord Generall *Eſſex*, who expoſed himſelfe to all the danger that a Battell could make, firſt leading on his Troope, then his owne Regiment of Foot, and breathing courage into them, till being diſſwaded by divers from ingaging himſelfe too farre, he returned to the reſt of the Army, to draw them on. The chiefe Regiments having begun the Battell, Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, with a brave Troope of Gentlemen (which were the Generals Life Guard, and commanded by him) charged the Kings Regiment on their right flanke within their Pikes, and came off without any great hurt, though thoſe Pikemen ſtoutly defended themſelves, and the Muſqueteers being good firemen, played fiercely upon them. The Battell was hot at that place, and ſo many of the Kings ſide ſlaine, that the Parliament Army began to be victorious there; they tooke the Standard Royall, the bearer thereof Sir EDMUND VARNEY, being ſlaine, and the Generall the Earle of *Lindſey* ſore wounded, was taken Priſoner. But the ſame fortune was not in every part; for the Kings right wing, led by Prince RUPERT, charged fiercely upon the left wing of the other (conſiſting moſt of Horſe) and prevailed altogether, for the Parliament Troops ranne almoſt all away in that Wing, and many of their Foot Companies, diſmayed with their flight, fled all away, before they had ſtood one Charge; Colonell ESSEX being utterly forſaken by that whole Brigade which he commanded, went himſelfe into the Van, where he performed excellent ſervice, both by direction and execution, till at the laſt

laſt he was ſhot in the thigh, of which he ſhortly after died; (ſome part of their diſheartning was cauſed by the revolt of their owne ſide; for Sir FAITHFULL FORTESCUE, at the beginning of the Fight, in ſtead of charging the Enemy, diſcharged his Piſtoll to the ground, and with his Troope, wheeling about, ranne to the Kings Army, to whom he had formerly given notice thereof by his Cornet.) The Parliament Army had undoubtedly been ruined that day, and an abſolute Victory gained on the Kings ſide, if Prince RUPERT, and his purſuing Troops had been more temperate in plundering ſo untimely as they did, and had wheeled about to aſſiſt their diſtreſſed friends in other parts of the Army; for Prince RUPERT followed the chaſe to *Keynton* Towne, where the Carriages of the Army were, which they preſently pillaged, uſing great cruelty, as was afterward related, to the unarmed Waggoners, and labouring men; A great number of the flying Parliament Souldiers were ſlaine in that Chaſe, which laſted two miles beyond *Keynton*; and ſo far, till the Purſuers were forced to retire, having met with Colonell HAMBDEN, who marched with the other Brigado of the Army, that brought on the Artillery and Ammunition, before ſpoken of, Colonell HAMBDEN diſcharged five Peeces of Canon againſt them, ſome were ſlaine, and the reſt ceaſing the purſuit, retired haſtily to the field, where they found all their Infantry, excepting two Regiments, quite defeated; for in the meane time, Sir WILLIAM BALFORE, Lieutenant Generall of the Horſe, with a Regiment of Horſe, charged a Regiment of the Kings Foot, before any Foot of his owne ſide could come up to him, and breaking moſt bravely into it, had cut moſt of them off; and afterward, by the aſſiſtance of ſome Foot, who were come up to him, he defeated another Regiment, and ſo got up to the greateſt part of the Kings Ordinance, taking ſome of them, cutting

off the Geeres of the Horſes that drew them, and killing the Gunners, but was inforced to leave them without any Guard, by reaſon that he laboured moſt to make good the day againſt ſeverall Regiments of the Kings Foot, who ſtill fought with much reſolution, eſpecially that which was of the Kings Guard, where his Standard was; by which Sir WILLIAM BALFORES Regiment rode, when they came back from taking the Ordnance, and were by them miſtaken for their owne ſide, paſſing without any Hoſtility, was the cauſe, that immediately afterward, Sir WILLIAM riding up toward the Lord Generall ESSEX his Regiment of Horſe, they gave fire upon Sir WILLIAM BALFORES men, ſuppoſing them to be Enemies, but ſoone diſcovering each other, they joyned Companies, and were led up with halfe the Lord Generals Regiment, by his Excellency himſelfe, againſt the Kings maine ſtrength, where a terrible and bloody incounter happened: At the ſame time Colonell BALLARD, who led a Brigado there of the Lord Generals Regiment, and the Lord BROOKS his, forced a ſtand of the Kings Pikes, and brooke thorow two of his Regiments.

In this great conflict the Standard Royall (as aforeſaid) was taken, and Sir EDMUND VARNEY ſlaine, the Earle of *Lindſey*, with his Sonne, taken Priſoners, together with Colonell VAVASOR, Lieutenant Colonell of that Regiment, Colonell MUNROE alſo was there ſlaine.

The Standard thus taken, and put into the Lord Generals hand, was by him delivered to his Secretary Maſter CHAMBERS; but the Secretary, after he had carried it ſome time in his hand, ſuffered it to be taken from him by an unknowne perſon, and ſo privately it was conveyed away. There alſo was great ſervice performed by the Lord GRAY, Sonne to the Earle of *Stamford*, and Sir ARTHUR HASLERIG, and a conſiderable help given to the turning of the day,

day, by defeating a Regiment of the Kings, called the blew Regiment.

By this time all the Kings Foot, excepting two Regiments, were diſperſed, and the Parliamentarians had gotten the advantage of the winde, and that ground which their Enemies had fought upon. Thoſe two Regiments of the Kings, retiring themſelves, and finding their Ordnance behind them without any guard, tooke ſtand there, and made uſe of their Canon, diſcharging many ſhot againſt their Enemies. But at that time the Parliament Foot began to want powder, otherwiſe (as was obſerved by a Commander in that Army) they had charged them both with Horſe and Foot; which in all probability would have utterly ruined the Kings Infantry, conſiſting in a manner but of two Regiments.

Thus the Parliament Army, partly for want of Ammunition, and partly being tired with ſo long a fight (for the whole brunt of the Battell had been ſuſteyned by two Regiments of their Horſe, and foure or five of their Foot) made no great haſte to charge any more.

The Kings Horſe, who had been long pillaging about *Keynton*, by this time had leiſure to come about on both hands, and joyne themſelves to their Foot; but as they came back on the left hand of their Enemies, Sir PHILIP STAPLETON with his Horſe, gave them a terrible Charge, which they were not long able to indure, but finding a gap in an hedge, got from him upon the Spurre as faſt as they could, to the reſt of their broken Troops, and ſo at laſt joyned with their Foot that ſtood by the Ordinance. And now on both ſides the Horſe were gathered to their own Foot, and ſo ſtood together both Horſe and Foot, one againſt another, till it was night.

The Parliament Army being wholly poſſeſſed of the ground which their Enemies had choſen to fight upon, ſtood upon it all night, and in the morning

returned to a warmer place neere *Keynton*, where they had quartered the night before; for they were much pinched with cold, and the whole Army in extreme want of Victuals.

The Kings Army had withdrawne to the top of the hill, for their more ſecurity, where they made great fires all the night long.

About nine of the clock the next morning the Parliament Army drew out againe into Battalia, and ſo ſtood about three houres, untill the other Army was quite gone from the hill, and then they withdrew themſelves into their Quarter towards *Keynton*, and to their other Brigado, Artillery, and Ammunition, which being commanded by Colonell HAMBDEN and Colonell GRANTHAM (as aforeſaid) was now come to *Keynton*, and lodged there. The King had drawne out his Horſe upon the further ſide of the hill, where he ſtayed till toward night, whileſt his Foot were retiring behinde the Hill, and marching away. A little before night, his Horſe alſo withdrew themſelves; and about an houre after, the Parliament Horſe marched quite away, and went with the reſt of the Army to *Warwick* to refreſh themſelves.

That going to *Warwick* was thought by a noble Gentleman of the Parliament ſide to be ill deſigned, For (ſaith he) had the Army, inſtead of going to *Warwick*, marched toward *Banbury*, we ſhould have found more Victuals, and had, in probability, diſperſed all the Foot of the Kings Army, taken his Canons and Carriages, and ſent his Horſe farther off, whereas now, becauſe we did not follow them, though they quitted the field whereon they fought, and left their Quarter before us, yet they began ſoone after to queſtion who had the day. Howſoever it were, true it is, that the King, no leſſe then the Parliament, pretended to be victorious in that Battell; and ſo farre aſcribed the Victory to his owne ſide, that a Prayer of thankſgiving to God was made at *Oxford* for

for it. A thankſgiving was alſo on the Parliament ſide for the Victory of that day. And it is certaine, that there were many markes of Victory on both Armies, Colours and Canon were taken on both ſides, without any great difference of the number of them And though in Speeches made afterwards by either Party, and Bookes printed, there is no conſent at all concerning the number of men ſlain, but ſo great a diſcrepancy, as it is almoſt a ſhame to inſert into an Hiſtory; yet ſurely by the beſt account there were more ſlaine on the Kings ſide, then on the other; Thoſe of quality that were loſt on both Parties, were of the Kings, the Earle of *Lindſey*, Lord Generall of his Army, the Lord AUBIGNY, brother to the Duke of *Lenox*, Sir EDWARD VARNEY Standard-Bearer, Colonell Sir EDMUND MONROY, a Scottiſh Gentleman, and Colonell LUNSFORD his Brother, with other Gentlemen and Commanders, beſides Common Souldiers, whoſe number (as is before ſaid) would not be agreed upon; yet I have heard, that the Country people thereabouts, by burying of the naked bodies, found the number to be about ſix thouſand that fell on both ſides, beſides thoſe which died afterwards of their wounds. There were taken Priſoners of the Kings ſide, the Lord WILLOUGHBY, Sonne and Heire to the Earle of *Lindſey*, Colonell VAVASOR, Colonell LUNSFORD, Sir EDWARD STRADLING, with others of leſſe note; a George, the Badge of a Knight of the Garter, was found in the field by a Common Souldier (beſides that which the Lord Generall *Lindſey* wore, and had about his neck when he was ſlaine) and bought of him by a Captaine, which was ſent up to the Parliament, there viewed, and reſtored againe to the Captaine.

On the Parliament ſide were ſlaine onely theſe of marke and quality, the Lord St. JOHN, eldeſt Sonne to the Earle of BULLENBROOKE, Colonell CHARLES ESSEX, and Lieutenant Colonell RAMSEY,

SEY, and none of any great note taken Priſoners.

The Battell was fought with great courage on both ſides, both by the Generals and other Commanders, beſides ſome particular Regiments of Souldiers, who were obſerved to performe their parts with great courage and bravery, ſuch as Colonell HOLLIS his Regiment of Redcoats, and others, too many to be all named in a ſhort Diſcourſe.

It could not but fall into the obſervation of many men, that the yeare before, upon the ſame day of the Moneth, namely, the 23. of *October*, that this famous Battell of *Keynton* was fought, the bloody Rebellion of the Iriſh broke out, with that inhumane Maſſacre of the Engliſh Proteſtants in that Kingdom, where the Engliſh by their owne loſſe and bleeding, were ſadly put in minde, that they had too long deferred the revenge of their butchered Brethren in *Ireland*.

It was likewiſe obſerved by many men of the Parliament ſide (who ſeemed to make no queſtion but that the Victory was on their ſide, as a further bleſſing of God to the Proteſtant Cauſe) that on the very ſame day that this Battell was wonne in *England*, the Sweads obtained a very great and notable Victory againſt the Imperialiſts, and thoſe of the Roman Religion in *Germany*.

But the King, ſuppoſing himſelfe victorious at *Keynton* field, immediately publiſhed a Declaration, *To all his loving Subjects* (for ſo it is ſtiled) *after his Victory againſt the Rebels*. Wherein, though the expoſtulation be very bitter, yet he indeavoureth that it ſhould not ſeeme to be made againſt the Parliament it ſelfe, but againſt ſome of them, whom he termeth malignant, malicious, with ſuch like Epithites, as have laboured to lay aſperſions upon him of things, whereof he profeſſeth himſelfe altogether innocent. Thoſe aſperſions he makes of two ſorts, the firſt is, concerning his favouring of Popery, and imploying

Papiſts

Papiſts in his Army; the ſecond, of raiſing that Army againſt the Parliament. Both which he labours to wipe off, with a recrimination againſt the Parliament. For the firſt, after a great Proteſtation of the truth of his Religion, and his paſt, preſent, and future care for the better eſtabliſhing of it in his Dominions, with the extirpation of Popery; though he cannot but acknowledge, that ſome eminent men of that Religion are armed in his Service, which he thinks excuſable in ſo gteat a neceſſity and danger as he was in; yet he tells the Parliament, That in their Army there are more Papiſts Commanders and others then in his.

For the ſecond, That he leavyed his Army againſt the Parliament. He ſeemeth to hope, That none of his good Subjects will beleeve it, unleſſe they will beleeve, that a dozen or twenty factious and ſeditious perſons be the high Court of Parliament, which conſiſts of King, Lords and Commons. For the Priviledges of Parliament, he averres, That whoſoever will not believe the raiſing of an Army to kill their King; To alter the Government and Lawes by extravagant Votes of either or both Houſes; To force the Members to ſubmit to their Faction, and take away freedome of conſultation from them, to be the Priviledge, of Parliament; muſt confeſſe, That the Army now raiſed by the King, is no leſſe for the vindication and preſervation of Parliaments, then for his owne neceſſary defence.

The King chargeth them likewiſe with uncharity, That they have indeavoured to raiſe an implacable hatred betweene the Gentry and Commonalty of the Kingdome, by rendring all perſons of Honour odious to the Common People under the ſtile of Cavaliers; and to perſwade the people, that there was an intention by the Commiſſion of Array, to take away a part of their Eſtates from them. Which he denyes, and concludes with Proteſtations to the contrary.

The Parliament returned anſwer to this Declaration, but not as being the Kings (according to their oft mentioned cuſtome) but comming from wicked and malicious contrivers of falſhood and ſcandals, Who (ſay they) to our unſpeakable ſorrowes, have gained ſo much power with his Majeſty, as to vent the ſame under the Title of his owne Royall Name.

For the firſt objection; They do not affirme that the King favours Popery himſelfe, but juſtifie that things have been carried in the favour of it by ſome about him, according to the particular inſtances in many of their former Declarations. They ſeeme to be amazed at the ſtrange boldneſſe of the Contrivers of that Declaration, in averring that there are more Papiſts in their Army, then in the Kings; whereas they cannot, or at leaſt, do not name any one, which they deſire may be done, if there be any ſuch, that the Parliament may know how to diſplace them. But the Parliament in their Anſwer name many of greateſt ranke and quality of that Religion in the Kings Army, who have raiſed him in ſome Counties the moſt conſiderable Forces which he hath; and many Commiſſions granted by himſelfe to Papiſts, acknowledged ſo. That it were ſenceleſſe to thinke that any Papiſts favoured the Parliaments Cauſe at all; whereas it is certaine, that there are none of that Religion, but are either openly or ſecretly aſſiſtant to that cauſe which the King hath taken.

For the ſecond objection; That the Kings Forces are not leavyed againſt the Parliament it ſelfe, but a few ſeditious perſons. *They thinke it an impoſſible thing, that twelve or twenty ſuch perſons (as they are termed) ſhould have power to compell the reſt of that Body to ſubmit to their Faction, and to have their freedome of conſultation taken from them.*

The truth is (ſay they) *not a few perſons, but the Parliament it ſelfe, is the thorne that lyes in theſe mens ſides;*

ſides; which heretofore, when it was wont to prick them, was with much eaſe, by a ſudden diſſolution, pulled out: But now that it is more deeply faſtened by an Act of continuance, they would force it out by the power of an Army.

That whoſoever will read the Speeches and Declarations made upon the breaking up of all former Parliaments, ever ſince the beginning of this Kings Reigne, will finde the pretences of thoſe unjuſt diſſolutions, to be grounded upon exceptions againſt particular Members, under the name of a few factions and ſeditious perſons; ſo that the aſperſing and wounding of the Parliament thorow the ſides of a few Members, is no new invention.

But (ſay they) thoſe former Declarations in the Kings name, being groundleſſe invectives, not againſt particular Members, but againſt the Votes and Proceedings of both Houſes; and declaring the Earle of *Eſſex*, Generall of the Forces raiſed by them, to be a Traytor; and that all thoſe which aſſiſt him, thereby comprehending both Houſes of Parliament, by whoſe Command and Authority he bears that place, to be Rebels, and guilty of High Treaſon, is argument ſufficient (no groundleſſe accuſation) to prove the Kings Army to be raiſed againſt the Parliament, or to take away the Priviledges thereof.

Thoſe Priviledges of Parliament, conſiſting in three things: 1. As they are a Councell to adviſe. 2. A Court to judge. 3. A repreſentative body of the Realme, to make, repeal, or alter Lawes. Theſe Priviledges have (ſay they) during the ſitting of this Parliament, been all apparently broken, to the view of all men, by the Kings wicked Councell. Their advice ſcarſe at all hearkened unto by the King, but other counſels of unknowne perſons preferred before them. For the ſecond, as a Court to judge; The Delinquents, ſo pronounced by the Parliament, have bin protected by the King againſt them; of which they give many particular inſtances. Touching the third, for making Laws; They inſtance his refuſall of many

wholſome Bils for Church and State, beſides the breaking of their Priviledges, they produce ſome attempts utterly to ſubvert them, as the forementioned indeavour of bringing up the Northerne Army, to force Conditions upon the Parliament; the Kings Letters and Commands to Members of both Houſes to attend him at *Yorke*, leaving their true and legall ſtation; which when they obeyed, it was ſcandalouſly alleadged that they were driven away.

For any violence intended to the Kings Perſon, as they utterly deny it, ſo they referre it to indifferent men to judge, by all their long ſufferings, and humble Petitions to him, to avoid thoſe indangerings of his Perſon. But for that imputation layed upon them, of an indeavour to raiſe an implacable malice and hatred betweene the Gentry and Commonalty of the Kingdome; They conceive it a Charge of a ſtrange nature, that they ſhould indeavour to raiſe the hatred of the Commonalty againſt themſelves. *For ſo it muſt follow, unleſſe the Contrivers of that Declaration will deny the Parliament to be Gentlemen. But though we know (ſay they) well, there are too many of the Gentry of this Kingdome, who, to ſatisfie the luſts of their owne ambition, are content to ſell their birth-right, to render themſelves and their poſterity to perpetuall ſlavery, and to ſubmit themſelves to any arbitrary and unlimited power of Government, ſo they may for their owne time pertake of that power, to trample and inſult over others; Yet we are certaine that there are many true hearted Gentlemen, who are ready to lay downe their lives and fortunes (and of late have given ample teſtimony thereof) for maintenance of their Lawes, Liberties, and Religion, with whom, and others of their reſolution, we ſhall be ready to live and dye.*

Laſtly, they prove by particular inſtances, that in the Kings Commiſſion of Array, there is not onely an intention to take away part of mens Eſtates, but that it hath been put into reall execution; with many other

other things in juſtification of all their proceedings and Declarations; which may be read more at large in the Records. This was the effect of that verball Skirmiſh, which immediately followed the great and bloody Battell of *Keymon.*

CHAP. II.

The Parliament ſend to the King, concerning an Accommodation. A fight at Branford. *Another Treaty with the King begun, and broken off.* Reading *beſieged by the Lord Generall* ESSEX, *and ſurrendred to him. A Conſpiracy to betray* Briſtoll. *A treacherous Plot againſt the Parliament and City of* London, *diſcovered and prevented.*

AT the famous Battell of *Edgehill*, the great cauſe of Engliſh Liberty, (with a vaſt expence of blood and Treaſure) was tryed, but not decided, which did therefore prove unhappy, even to that ſide, which ſeemed victorious, the Parliament Army.

For though the Kings Forces were much broken by it, yet his ſtrength grew accidentally greater, and more formidable then before; to whom it proved a kinde of victory, not to be eaſily or totally overthrowne.

For the greateſt Gentlemen of divers Counties began then to conſider of the King, as one that in poſſibility might prove a Conquerour againſt the Parliament; and many of them, who before as Neuters had ſtood at gaze, in hope that one quick blow

might cleare the doubt, and ſave them the danger of declaring themſelves, came now in, and readily adhered to that ſide, where there ſeemed to be leaſt feares, and greateſt hopes, which was the Kings Party; for on the Parliament ſide the incouragements were onely publike, and nothing promiſed but the free injoyment of their native Liberty; no particular honours, preferments, or Eſtates of Enemies; and on the other ſide, no ſuch totall ruine could be threatned from a victorious Parliament, being a body as it were of themſelves, as from an incenſed Prince, and ſuch hungry followers, as uſually go along with Princes in thoſe waies. And how much private intereſt will overſway publike notions, Books of Hiſtory, rather then Philoſophy, will truly informe you; for concerning humane actions and diſpoſitions, there is nothing under the Sunne which is abſolutely new. Looke upon the Diſcourſe of one Hiſtorian in that ſubject, DION CASSIUS, a Writer of as little bias, in the opinion of all Criticks, as any among the Antients, when he relates the laſt Warre about Roman Liberty, after which (as himſelfe ſpeaks) that People never againe looked back toward it. Which was the Warre of BRUTUS and CASSIUS againſt CÆSAR and ANTONY; *Etſi ante hanc pugnam civilibus bellis, &c.* Although (ſaith DION) before this War they had many Civill Wars, yet in others they fought who ſhould oppreſſe the Roman Liberty; in this War, one ſide fought to vindicate Liberty, the other to bring in Tyranny, yet the ſide of Tyranny prevailed, and drew moſt to it: Of what quality they were, the ſame Hiſtorian ſpeaks alſo: The Armies of BRUTUS and CASSIUS, that ſtood for Liberty, conſiſted of the lower ſort of people, and *Ex ſubditis Romanorum*, the other that ſtood for Tyranny, conſiſted (ſaith he) *Ex Romanis Nobilibus, & Fortibus.* BRUTUS and CASSIUS, two chiefe Souldiers, before the Battell making Orations, incouraged them

to

to fight for their ancient freedome, and Roman Laws. CÆSAR and ANTONY promiſed to their Souldiers the Eſtates of their Enemies, *Et imperium in omnes Gentiles ſuos*, and power to rule over their owne Countrymen; which proved, it ſeemes, better Oratory then the other, and more perſwaſive. BRUTUS and CASSIUS delayed the Battell, as loath to waſte ſo much blood, if by any other ſtratagem they might have ſubdued; becauſe they were (ſaith DION) good men, and pittyed their Countrymen, loving the ſafety, and ſtriving for the Liberty even of thoſe men, who fought againſt them, to overthrow that Liberty; Yet that delay proved ill, and many Noblemen in that time forſooke them, and turned to the other ſide, whither their private hopes or feares led them. Whether the parrallel will in ſome meaſure fit this occaſion or not, I leave it to the Reader, and returne to the Narration.

The Earle of *Eſſex*, the next day after *Keynton* Battell, marched with his Army toward *Warwick*, to which Towne he arrived ſafe, diſpoſing of the Priſoners, Waggons, and Ordnance, which he had taken, into that Caſtle, with reſolution after ſome ſhort refreſhment of his men there, to march neerer to the King: But the King returned toward *Oxford*, ſeizing by the way upon *Banbury*, from whence he tooke 1500. Armes, and turned out the Parliament Souldiers that were quartered there.

His Army, conſiſting eſpecially of Horſe, was divided into ſeverall Bodyes, and Prince RUPERT with part of it, viſited the Towns neere adjacent, as *Abingdon*, *Henley*, and other places; from whence he returned with great booty.

Within few daies he made a neerer approach toward *London*, but with a flying Army, reſting in no place, ſometimes as farre as *Stanes* and *Egham*, which made the City of *London* carefull to provide for their ſafety againſt ſudden incurſions, and ſend Forces to poſſeſſe and fortifie *Windſor* Caſtle. In

In the meane time, to ſecure *London*, and free thoſe parts from greater feares, the Earle of *Eſſex* had marched with his Army neerer to that City, and on the ſeventh day of *November* came himſelfe to *Weſtminſter* (his Army being billitted about *Acton*, and other neere places) and was welcomed by both Houſes of Parliament, who preſented him with a gift of 5000 *l.* as an acknowledgement of their thanks, in behalfe of the Kingdome, for his care, paines, and valour, in the actions already paſſed.

But before the Earle of *Eſſex* departed from *London*, another bloody tragedy was acted, and the ſcene no farther then *Brainford*, about eight miles diſtance, the King himſelfe being there, or not farre off in Perſon. The manner and occaſion of it ſhall be in briefe related.

The Parliament expreſſing great griefe for this unnaturall Warre and bloodſhed, that this indangered Kingdome might be ſaved from ruine, and the better meanes made to recover *Ireland*, had agreed upon a Petition for Accommodation, to be preſented to the King, then at *Colebrooke*, by the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Pembrooke*, with foure Commons, the Lord WAINMAN, Maſter PERPOINT, Sir JOHN EVELIN, and Sir JOHN IPSLEY; Sir PETER KILLIGREW was ſent before to procure a ſafe Conduct. But the King refuſed to admit of Sir JOHN EVELYN, becauſe he was one whom himſelfe had named a Traytor the day before. Which exception of the Kings was extremely diſtaſted by the Parliament; yet ſo great was their deſire of Accommodation, that although this excepting of Sir JOHN EVELIN, were voted by them a breach of Priviledge, and a flat denyall from the King, the Petition was ſent by the five forenamed Lords and Gentlemen, Sir JOHN EVELIN being very willing to be left out.

The King being then at *Colebrooke*, fifteene miles diſtant, ſeemed to receive the Petition with great willing-

willingneſſe, and returned them a faire Anſwer, calling God to witneſſe in many Proteſtations, that he was tenderly compaſſionate of his bleeding people, and more deſirous of nothing, then a ſpeedy peace; to which purpoſe he was moſt willing, at any place where he ſhould reſide, not farre from *London*, to receive ſuch Propoſitions of Peace as they ſhould ſend, and to treat with them.

As ſoone as the Parliament Lords returned with this Anſwer, the Kings Artillery (according to all relations) advanced forwards with divers Troops of Horſe, thorow that Towne of *Colebrooke*, after them towards *London*; and taking advantage of a great miſt which happened that Friday night, they marched to *Brainford*, and fell upon the Parliament Forces which were there quartered, which were a broken Regiment of Colonell HOLLIS, but ſtout men, who had before done great ſervice. Of them the Kings Forces killed many, and had quite deſtroyed all in probability, if the Lord BROOKS, and Colonell HAMEDENS Regiments, billitted not farre off, had not made haſte to their reliefe, who comming in, maintained a great and bloody fight againſt the Kings Forces, where many were ſlaine on both ſides, and many taken Priſoners; both Parties, as before it happened at *Keynton* Battell, eſteeming themſelves conquerors, and ſo reporting afterwards. The newes of this unexpected fight was ſoone brought to *London*, whither alſo the noiſe of the great Artillery was eaſily heard.

The Lord Generall *Eſſex*, then ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, in the Houſe of Peeres, tooke Horſe immediately, and with what ſtrength he could call together on ſuch a ſudden, came in to the reſcue of his ingaged Regiments; but night had parted them, and the King was retired to his beſt advantages; all that night the City of *London* powred out men toward *Brainford*, who every houre marched thither, and all the

Lords and Gentlemen that belonged to the Army, were there ready on the Sunday morning, being the 14. of *November*, a force great enough to have ſwallowed up a farre greater Army then the King had. Beſides, the Kings Forces were encompaſſed on every ſide; inſomuch as great hope was conceived by moſt men, that the period of this ſad Warre was now come. But God was not yet appeaſed toward this Nation; a fatall doore was opened to let out the incloſed King: Three thouſand of the Parliament Souldiers were then at *Kingſtone* upon Thames, a Towne about ten miles diſtant from the City; which Souldiers were all (as it happened) commanded to leave that Towne, and march thorow *Surrey*, with what ſpeed they could, and over *London* Bridge, ſo thorow the City toward *Brainford*, to prevent the Enemies paſſage to *London*. The reaſon of that Command was afterward given, for that the Lord Generall was not aſſured of ſtrength enough to ſtop the Enemy from *London*, nor could before hand be aſſured of ſo great an Army, as came thither before morning. But this was the event of it; and thorow *Kingſtone* thus abandoned the King retreated; and leaving ſome Troops to face his Enemies, brought all his Foot and Artillery over that Bridge, which drawing up afterward, he had time enough ſecurely to plunder many places of that Country, and retire ſafely to *Oxford*, where he intended to take up his winter Quarters.

The Parliament, upon this Action of the King, began to be out of hope of doing any good by Treaties, reſolving that the Lord Generall, with all ſpeed that might be, ſhould purſue the Kings Forces, and fall upon them about *Oxford* and *Reading*, for newes was daily brought them how active his Parties were under the conduct of Prince RUPERT and others, in plundering all the places thereabouts. And the City of *London*, to incourage the Parliament with a free

tender

tender of their ſervice, framed a Petition to them, to intreat them, *That they would proceed no further in the buſineſſe of Accommodation, becauſe evill Counſell was ſo prevalent with the King; That he would but delude them; That they had heard his Forces are weake, and that if his Excellency would follow and fall upon them, and that no delayes be made for feare of forraigne Forces comming over, the City, as heretofore; would with all willingneſſe ſpend their lives and fortunes to aſſiſt the Parliament.*

The City was thanked for their Petition and Proteſtation, and the Lord Generall moved by the Parliament to advance, who, though the ſeaſon of the yeare were not very fit for ſo great a Body to march, was very deſirous to obey their Commands. The beſt way was thought to divide his Army, and ſend ſeverall parties to ſeverall places, to reſtraine the Enemies from annoying the Countries, as to *Buckingham, Marlow, Reading*, and other parts, untill himſelfe with his whole force could be well accommodated to march from *Windſor* (where he lay that winter) toward the King. But it ſo fell out, either by reaſon of ill weather at ſome times, and at other for want of Money or fit accommodation, that the Generall himſelfe, with his maine Army, marched not forth untill the ſpring, whoſe firſt buſineſſe was to lay ſiege to *Reading*, which was fortified by the Kings Forces, and maintained by a Garriſon of 3000. Souldiers, and 20. Peece of Ordnance; before which Towne he ſate downe upon the five and twentieth day of *April*, 1643. with an Army of about 16000. Foot, and 3000. Horſe.

Now (leaving the Lord Generall before *Reading* with his Army) in the meane time we will ſhew one maine reaſon why he did no ſooner advance; The expectation of another Treaty, which the Parliament had deſired to have with the King, for ſetling of the Kingdomes Peace, which proved fruitleſſe, in

debate laſted a long time. Propoſitions were drawne up by the Parliament, and ſent to *Oxford* on the 31. of *January*, 1642. by foure Lords and eight Commoners, the Earles of *Northumberland*, *Pembrooke*, *Sarum*, and *Holland*, Lord WAINMAN, Lord DUNGARUAN, Sir JOHN HOLLAND, Sir WILLIAM LITTON, Maſter PERPOINT, Maſter WALLER, Maſter WHITLOCK, Maſter WINHOOD; the Propoſitions were:

1. That the King would paſſe thoſe Bils which the Houſes had made ready.

2. To paſſe a Bill for ſetling Parliament Priviledges and Liberties.

3. For bringing to tryall thoſe Delinquents whom the Houſes had impeached ſince *January* laſt.

4. For clearing the ſix Members before mentioned.

5. For reſtoring all Judges and Officers of State lately removed.

6. To paſſe a Bill for re-paying the charge of the Kingdome.

7. A Bill for an Act of Oblivion.

8. An Act for a generall pardon without exception.

9. That there may be a Ceſſation of Armes for fourteene daies, to agree upon theſe Propoſitions.

The King not liking, nor yet utterly refuſing theſe Propoſitions, ſent the Commiſſioners home to their Parliament, within a weeke after they came, to carry ſix Propoſitions from him to the Houſes; which were:

1. That his Revenue, Magazines, Townes, Forts, and Ships, may be delivered to him.

2. That all Orders and Ordinances of Parliament wanting his aſſent, may be recalled.

3. That all power exerciſed over his Subjects by Aſſeſſements, and impriſoning their perſons, may be diſclaimed.

4. That he will yeeld to the execution of the Laws againſt

againſt Papiſts, provided that the Booke of Common-Prayer be confirmed.

5. That ſuch perſons as upon the Treaty ſhall be excepted out of the generall Pardon, ſhall be tryed by their Peeres onely.

6. That there be a Ceſſation of Armes during the Treaty.

The Houſes, upon receiving of theſe Propoſitions, though at firſt it were the opinion of many, not to ſend any Anſwer at all to them; yet at laſt, to ſhew reſpect to the King, entred into a further debate about treating with him concerning the Propoſitions on both ſides, and concerning the Ceſſation of Arms, or disbanding; with ſuch limitations and reſtrictions touching the order of treating, as would perchance ſeeme too tedious to be here related; and on the 20. of *March* the Earle of *Northumberland*, Sir JOHN HOLLAND, Sir WILLIAM ARMINE, Maſter PERPOINT, and Maſter WHITLOCK (the Lord SAY ſhould have been one, but the King excepted againſt him, as formerly againſt Sir JOHN EVELIN, upon the ſame ground, which though the Parliament tooke ill at the firſt, yet they proceeded in the buſineſſe) were ſent to *Oxford* as Treaters upon thoſe Propoſitions. In vaine was this Treaty; ſo high the demands were judged to be on both ſides, that there ſeemed no poſſibility of ever meeting; where the fault lay I judge not; but the Parliament, after many Meſſages betweene *London* and *Oxford*, at laſt ſent for their Commiſſioners home againe; who returned to *London* upon the 17. of *April*; upon which the Lord Generall immediately advanced with his Army (as aforeſaid) to beſiege *Reading*.

Reading was not able to hold out long, but the Lord Generall was loath to ſtorme it for feare of deſtroying ſo many innocent people as remained in the Towne; which compaſſion of his was well approved of by the Parliament; therefore upon compoſition

it was rendred within ſixteene daies to his Excellency, by the Deputy Governour Colonell FIELDING, for the Governour Sir ARTHUR ASTON, was before wounded by an accident, and could not performe the Office: The Termes were eaſie, for they all marched out with bagge and baggage. This ſiege had not at all advantaged the Parliament, if another buſineſſe had not fallen out during that ſhort ſiege; which may alſo be thought a reaſon, why the Towne was ſo ſoone rendred. A good Body of the Kings Forces, both Horſe and Foot (the King himſelfe in Perſon not farre from them) came to relieve *Reading*, aſſaulting one Quarter of the Parliament Army at *Cauſum* Bridge, within a mile of the Towne, and were beaten back with great ſlaughter, which fell eſpecially upon Gentlemen of quality, of whom the King at that incounter loſt a conſiderable number; but how many they were, or their particular names, I finde not mentioned.

The gaining of *Reading* might ſeeme an addition of ſtrength to the Parliament ſide; it proved otherwiſe: Nothing was gotten but a bare Towne, which had been happier, had it been onely ſo: The Towne was infected, and cauſed afterwards a great mortality in the Parliament Army. The Souldiers beſides were diſcontented, that being already much behinde in pay, they were not ſuffered to plunder, or make any benefit of their victory. For the Parliament, before *Reading* was delivered up, had approved of the Conditions, and promiſed to the Lord Generals Souldiers, to forbeare plundering, twelve ſhillings a man, beſides their pay. But neither of theſe were then performed; money began already to be wanting, and the great Magazine of Treaſure in *Guild-Hall* quite conſumed. While they ſtayed there, expecting money, the ſickneſſe and mortality daily increaſed, and the Lord Generall, by advice of his Councell of War, intended to march thence for better ayre. But ſuch a

generall

generall mutiny was raiſed for want of Money, that his Excellency, though with much courage and juſt ſeverity he began to ſuppreſſe it, was adviſed by his Councell of Warre to deſiſt, for feare of a generall defection, till money might come from the City. Notwithſtanding upon this diſcontent in the Army, whileſt his Excellency removed to *Cauſum* Houſe, to avoid the infection, many of the Souldiers diſbanded, and went away. Then began a tide of miſfortune to flow in upon the Parliament ſide; and their ſtrength almoſt in every place to decreaſe at one time; for during the time of theſe ſix moneths, ſince the Battell of *Keynton*, untill this preſent diſtreſſe of the Lord Generals Army about *Cauſum*, which was about the beginning of *May*, the Warre had gone on with great fury and heat, almoſt thorow every part of *England*; the particulars of which ſhall hereafter be related by themſelves, to avoid confuſion in the Story: The Lord Generall had at that time intelligence that Sir RALPH HOPTON had given a great defeat to the Parliament Forces of *Devonſhire*; and that Prince MAURICE, and Marqueſſe HARTFORD were deſigned that way, to poſſeſſe themſelves wholly of the Weſt.

Leaving therefore the Lord Generall a while, I ſhall proceed to ſpeak of ſome things which happened at other places in that Moneth of *May*. The Kings Armies were then in faire poſſibility of gaining the whole Weſt; and ſeemed of ſtrength enough to atchieve it by open Warre, without the aſſiſtance of ſecret treacheries and conſpiracies; which notwithſtanding were then in agitation, though they proved not ſucceſſefull againſt the Parliament, but deſtructive to the contrivers. As at *Briſtoll*, a place of great import, and much deſired by the Kings Forces, when the plot of betraying that City to Prince RUPERT, was ſet on foot; which I here relate, as falling out about the beginning of *May*, 1643.

The

The City of *Briſtoll* was then in the Parliaments protection, and governed by Colonell NATHANIEL FIENNES, ſecond Sonne to the Viſcount SAY and SEALE, though many of the Inhabitants there, as appeared by this deſigne, were diſ-affected to the Parliaments ſide.

This deſigne was very bloody, and many of that City had periſhed in it, had not the Conſpirators been diſcovered and apprehended a little before they were to put it in execution.

ROBERT YEOMANS, late Sheriffe of *Briſtoll*, WILLIAM YEOMANS his brother, GEORGE BOURCHIER, and EDWARD DACRES, were the chiefe managers of this Deſigne; who, with many others of that opinion, had ſecretly provided themſelves of Armes, intending to kill the Centinels by night, and poſſeſſe the maine Guard, (with other particulars, to be found in the Records of their examinations, and proofes againſt them) whereby to maſter the greateſt part of the other ſide within the Towne, to kill the Mayor, and many others that were knowne to ſtand affected to the Parliament; and by that meanes to betray the City to the Kings Forces. In expectation of which act, Prince RUPERT with other Commanders, and about 4000 Horſe, and 2000 Foot, ſtayed upon *Durdam Downes*, about two miles from the City. But the Plot was diſcovered, the Conſpirators apprehended, and brought to triall by a Councell of Warre, where the foure forenamed were condemned, and two of them hanged at *Briſtoll*, namely, ROBERT YEOMANS, and GEORGE BOURCHIER; although great meanes had been made to ſave them, and Colonell FIENNES to that purpoſe had been threatned from *Oxford*, by Generall RIVEN (created by the King Earle of *Forth*) in a Letter unto him; which being of great conſequence, for the cleare underſtanding of this War, and the nature of it, I thought fit to inſert here, together with the Anſwer thereunto.

PATRICK

PATRICK Earle of *Forth*, Lord ETTERICK, and Lord Lieutenant of all His Majeſties Forces.

I *Having been informed, that lately at a Councell of Warre you have condemned to death* Robert Yeomans, *late Sheriffe of* Briſtoll, *who hath His Majeſties Commiſſion for raiſing a Regiment for his Service,* William Yeomans *his brother,* George Bourchier, *and* Edward Dacres, *all for expreſſing their Loyalty to His Majeſty, and indeavouring his Service, according to their Allegiance; and that you intend to proceed ſpeedily againſt divers others in the like manner: Do therefore ſignifie to you, that I intend ſpeedily to put Maſter* George, *Maſter* Stevens, *Captaine* Huntley, *and others, taken in Rebellion againſt His Majeſty at* Ciceſter, *into the ſame condition. I do further adviſe you, that if you offer by that unjuſt Judgement, to execute any of them you have ſo condemned; that thoſe here in cuſtody, Maſter* George, *Maſter* Stevens, *and Captaine* Huntley, *muſt expect no favour or mercy.*

Given under my hand at *Oxford*, this 16. of May. 1643.

To the Commander in Chiefe of the Councell of Warre in *Briſtoll.*

FORTH.

The Anſwer to this Letter was as followeth:

NATHANIEL FIENNES Governour, and the Councell of War in the City of *Briſtoll.*

H *Aving received a Writing from your Lordſhip, wherein it is declared, that upon information of our late proceedings againſt* Robert Yeomans, William

liam Yeomans, *and others, you intend ſpeedily to put Maſter* George, *Maſter* Stevens, *Captaine* Huntley, *and others into the ſame condition: We are well aſſured, that neither your* Lordſhip, *nor any other mortall man, can put them into the ſame condition; for whether they live or dye, they will alwaies be accounted true and honeſt men, faithfull to their King and Country, and ſuch as in a faire and open way have alwaies proſecuted that Cauſe, which in their judgement, guided by the judgement of the higheſt Court, they held the juſteſt; whereas the Conſpirators of this City, muſt both in life and death, carry perpetually with them the brand of Treachery and Conſpiracy: And if* Robert Yeomans *had made uſe of his Commiſſion in an open way, he ſhould be put into no worſe condition, then others in the like kinde had been; but the Law of nature among all men, and the law of Armes among Souldiers make a difference betweene open Enemies, and ſecret Spyes and Conſpirators. And if you ſhall not make the like diſtinction, we do ſignifie unto you, that we will not onely proceed to the execution of the perſons already condemned, but alſo of divers others of the Conſpirators, unto whom we had ſome thoughts of extending mercy. And do further advertiſe you, that if by any inhumane and un-Souldier-like ſentence, you ſhall proceed to the execution of the perſons by you named, or any other of our friends in your cuſtody, that have beene taken in a faire and open way of War; then Sir* Walter Pye, *Sir* William Crofts, *and Colonell* Connesbey, *with divers others taken in open Rebellion, and actuall War againſt the King and Kingdom, whom we have here in cuſtody, muſt expect no favour or mercy. And by Gods bleſſing upon our moſt juſt Cauſe, we have powers enough, for our friends ſecurity, without taking in any that have gotten out of our reach and power, although divers of yours, of no mean quality and condition, have bin releaſed by us. Given under our hand the* 18 *of May,* 1643.

To *Patrick* Earle of *Forth*, Lord Lieut. Generall. Nathaniel Fiennes, Preſident, Clement Walker, &c.

The

The King alſo at that time writ a very ſharpe command to the Mayor and Citizens of *Briſtoll*, to raiſe what power they could to hinder the execution of thoſe men, which he termes the murder of his loyall Subjects: But nothing availed to ſave their lives, for the forenamed ROBERT YEOMANS, and GEORGE BOURCHIER, according to the ſentence, were both executed. The loſſe of *Briſtoll* from the Parliament, a place of great import, was thus by the detection and prevention of this Conſpiracy, reſpited for a while onely. For not long after it was ſurrendred to Prince RUPERT, and happier it was for the Prince himſelfe, to gaine that City in a more honourable way, and leſſe effuſion of Engliſh blood.

At the ſame time that theſe Conſpirators againſt *Briſtoll* were by ſentence of a Councell of Warre put to death; another Plot of higher nature, and more full of horrour, was detected at *London*; a Plot, which if not diſcovered, had quite ruined the Parliament it ſelfe, and ſtrooke at the very head, and chiefe reſidence of it, the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; which cannot be omitted in this Relation, though with as much brevity as can be poſſible, it ſhall be touched.

The ſcope of it was to have put in execution the Commiſſion of Array within *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and ſo to have raiſed a ſufficient force for the Kings ſide to ruine the Parliament. Many Citizens of *London* were in the Plot, together with ſome Gentlemen beſides, who had taken an Oath of ſecrecy among themſelves; and were the more animated in it, upon promiſes; which Maſter WALLER, the chiefe man in eminence among them (a Member of the Houſe of Commons) had made to ſome of the reſt, that many Members of both Houſes of Parliament were ingaged in the Plot, and would in due time be aſſiſtants to it. Though it proved in concluſion, that

Maſter WALLER was not able to make good ſo much as he had promiſed. The Plot was horrid, and could not poſſibly have been put in execution, without great effuſion of blood, as muſt needs appeare by the particular branches of it, which were confeſſed upon the Examinations of Maſter WALLER, Maſter TOMKINS, Maſter CHALLENOR, Maſter HASELL Maſter BLINKHORNE, Maſter WHITE, and others the chiefe Actors in it.

That which appeared by the Narrative Declaration, publiſhed by Authority of Parliamenr, was to this effect: That

1. They ſhould ſeize into their cuſtody the Kings Children.

2. To ſeize upon ſeverall Members of both Houſes of Parliament, upon the Lord Mayor of *London*, and the Committee of the Militia there, under pretence of bringing them to legall tryall.

3. To ſeize upon all the Cities out-Works and Forts, upon the Tower of *London*, and all the Magazines, Gates, and other places of importance in the City.

4. To let in the Kings Forces, to ſurprize the City with their aſſiſtance; and to deſtroy all thoſe, who ſhould by Authority of Parliament, be their oppoſers; and by force of Armes to reſiſt all payments impoſed by the Authority of both Houſes, for ſupport of thoſe Armies imployed in their defence.

Many other particulars there were, too tedious to relate at large, as what ſignals ſhould have been given to the Kings Forces of Horſe, to invade the City; what Colours for difference, thoſe of the Plot ſhould weare, to be knowne to their fellowes, and ſuch like. Much heartened they were in this buſineſſe by a Commiſſion of Array ſent from *Oxford* at that time, from the King to them, and brought ſecretly to *London* by a Lady, the Lady AUBIGNY, Daughter to the Earle of *Suffolke*, a Widow ever ſince the Battell

Battell of *Keynton*; where the Lord AUBIGNY her husband was ſlaine.

That Commiſſion of Array was directed from the King to Sir NICHOLAS CRISPE, Sir GEORGE STROUD Knights, to Sir THOMAS GARDINER Knight, Recorder of *London*, Sir GEORGE BINION, Knight, RICHARD EDES, and MARMADUKE ROYDEN Eſquires, THOMAS BROWNE, PETER PAGGON, CHARLES GENNINGS, EDWARD CARLETON, ROBERT ABBOT, ANDREW KING, WILLIAM WHITE, STEVEN BOLTON, ROBERT ALDEM, EDMUND FOSTER, THOMAS BLINKHORNE, of *London* Gentlemen; and to all ſuch other perſons, as according to the true intent and purport of that Commiſſion, ſhould be nominated and appointed to be Generals, Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Serjeant Majors, or other Officers of that Councell of Warre. The Commiſſion it ſelfe is to be read at large in the Parliament Records.

But this Conſpiracy was prevented, and proved fatall to ſome of the Contrivers; being detected upon the laſt day of *May* (which happened at that time to be the day of the Monethly Faſt) and Maſter WALLER, Maſter TOMKINS, with other of the forenamed Conſpirators, being apprehended, were that night examined by divers grave Members of the Parliament, of whom Maſter PYM was one; and afterwards reſerved in cuſtody for a Tryall. They were arraigned in *Guild-Hall*, and Maſter WALLER, Maſter TOMKINS, Maſter CHALLONER, Maſter HASELL, Maſter WHITE, and Maſter BLINKHORNE, were all condemned; none were executed but Maſter TOMKINS, and Maſter CHALLONER, being both hanged, Maſter TOMKINS in *Holborne*, and Maſter CHALLONER in *Cornhill*, both within ſight of their own dwelling houſes; Maſter HASELL dyed in Priſon, BLINKHORNE, and the other, were by the mercy of the Parliament, and the Lord Gene-

rall *Eſſex*, reprived, and ſaved afterwards; Maſter WALLER, the chiefe of them, was long detained Priſoner in the Tower, and about a yeare after, upon payment of a Fine of ten thouſand pounds, was pardoned, and releaſed to go travell abroad. It was much wondered at, and accordingly diſcourſed of by many at that time, what the reaſon ſhould be, why Maſter WALLER, being the principall Agent in that Conſpiracy, (where Maſter TOMKINS and Maſter CHALLONER, who had been drawne in by him, as their own Confeſſions, even at their deaths expreſſed, were both executed) did eſcape with life. The onely reaſon which *I* could ever heare given for it, was, That *Maſter* WALLER had been ſo free in his Confeſſions at the firſt, without which the Plot could not have been clearly detected; That Maſter PYM, and other of the Examiners, had ingaged their promiſe, to do whatever they could to preſerve his life. He ſeemed alſo much ſmitten in conſcience, and deſired the comfort of godly Miniſters, being extremely penitent for that ſoule offence; and afterwards in his Speech to the Houſe (when he came to be put out of it) much bewailed his offence, thanking God that ſo miſchievous, and bloody a Conſpiracy was diſcovered, before it could take effect.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Matters of State tranſ-acted in Parliament, touching the Aſſembly of Divines. The making of a new Great Seale. Impeaching the Queene of High Treaſon, and other things. The Lord Generall Eſſex, *after ſome Marches, returneth to quarter his waſted and ſick Army about* Kingſton. *The Kings Forces Maſters of the Weſt. The Earl of* Newcaſtle, *his greatneſſe in the North. Some mention of the Earle of* Cumberland, *and the Lord* FAIRFAX.

AT the ſame time that theſe Conſpiracies were cloſely working to undermine the Parliament, and Warre was raging in higheſt fury throughout the Kingdome; many State-buſineſſes of an unuſuall nature had been tranſ-acted in the Parliament ſitting. For things were growne beyond any preſident of former ages, and the very foundations of Government were ſhaken; according to the ſenſe of that Vote, which the Lords and Commons had paſſed a yeare before, *That whenſoever the King maketh Warre againſt the Parliament, it tendeth to the diſſolution of this Government.*

Three things of that unuſuall nature fell into debate in one moneth, which was *May*, 1643. and were then, or ſoone after fully paſſed; one was at the beginning of that moneth, concerning the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*. Among other Bils which had paſſed

paſſed both Houſes, and wanted onely the Royall Aſſent, that was one; That a Synod of Divines ſhould be choſen and eſtabliſhed, for the good and right ſettlement of Religion, with a fit Government for the Church of *England*. This Bill was oft tendred to the King to paſſe, but utterly refuſed by him: The matter therefore was fully argued, what in ſuch caſes might be done by Authority of Parliament, when the Kingdomes good is ſo much concerned, when a King refuſeth, and wholly abſenteth himſelfe from the Parliament. And at laſt it was brought to this concluſion; That an Ordinance of Parliament, where the King is ſo abſent, and refuſing, is by the Lawes of the Land of as good Authority to binde the people, for the time preſent, as an Act of Parliament it ſelfe can be.

It was therefore Voted by the Lords and Commons, That the Act for an Aſſembly of Divines, to ſettle Religion, and a forme of Government for the Church of *England*, (which the King had oft refuſed to paſſe) ſhould forthwith be turned into an Ordinance of Parliament; and the Aſſembly thereby called, debate ſuch things for the ſettlement of Religion, as ſhould be propounded to them by both Houſes; which not long after was accordingly put in execution.

The caſe ſeemed of the ſame nature with that of *Scotland*, in the yeare 1639. when the Scottiſh Covenanters (as is before mentioned in this Hiſtory) upon the Kings delay in calling their Nationall Synod, publiſhed a writing to that purpoſe; That the power of calling a Synod, in caſe the Prince be an Enemy to the truth, or negligent in promoting the Churches good, is in the Church it ſelfe.

In the ſame moneth, and within few daies after, another buſineſſe of great conſequence, was by the Lords and Commons taken into conſideration, which was the making of a new Great Seale, to ſupply the place

place of that which had been carried away from the Parliament, as before is mentioned. This buſineſſe had been fully debated in the Houſe of Coumons, and the Moneth following, at a Conference between both Houſes, the Commons declared to the Lords what great prejudice the Parliament and whole Kingdome ſuffered by the abſence of the Great Seale; and thereupon deſired their ſpeedy compliance in Votes for the making of a new one.

The matter was debated in the Houſe of Peeres, put to Votes, and carried for the negative. The onely reaſon which they alleadged againſt the making of a new Seale; was this, That they have hitherto diſpatched all buſineſſe ſince the abſence of the Seale, by vertue of Ordinances of Parliament, and they conceived that the ſame courſe might ſtill be kept in what matters ſoever were neceſſary to be expedited for the good of the Kingdome, without a Seale. Yet the Lords gave a reſpective anſwer, That if the Houſe of Commons would informe them in any particular caſes, wherein the Kingdomes prejudice, by abſence of the Great Seale, could not be remedied by vertue of an Ordinance, they would take it into further conſideration, to induce complyance accordingly.

Neither was it long before the Lords, upon reaſons ſhewed, concurred with the Houſe of Commons; who about the beginning of *July*, preſented to the Lords at a Conference the Votes, which had before paſſed in their Houſe, together with the reaſons for making of a new Great Seale. The Votes were theſe:

Reſolved upon the Queſtion. June 14. & 26.

1. "THat *the Great Seale of* England *ought to attend the Parliament.*

2. *That the abſence of it hath been a cauſe of great miſchiefe to the Common-wealth.*

3. *That a remedy ought to be provided for theſe miſchiefs.*

4. *That the proper remedy is by making a new Great Seale.*

The reaſons which they gave, were divided into two branches; The firſt declaring thoſe miſchiefes which were occaſioned by conveying away the Great Seale from the Parliament: The ſecond expreſſing thoſe inconveniences and miſchiefes which proceeded from the want of the Great Seale with them. The reaſons of the firſt kinde were thus:

1. It was ſecretly and unlawfully carried away by the Lord Keeper, contrary to the duty of his place, who ought himſelfe to have attended the Parliament, and not to have departed without leave; nor ſhould have been ſuffered to convey away the Great Seale, if his intentions had been diſcovered.

2. It hath been ſince taken away from him, and put into the hands of other dangerous and ill-affected perſons; ſo as the Lord Keeper, being ſent unto by the Parliament, for the ſealing of ſome Writs, returned anſwer, That he could not Seale the ſame, becauſe he had not the Seale in his keeping.

3. Thoſe who have had the managing thereof, have imployed it to the hurt and deſtruction of the Kingdome many waies; as by making new Sheriffes in an unuſuall and unlawfull manner, to be as ſo many Generals, or Commanders, of Forces raiſed againſt the Parliament; by iſſuing out illegall Commiſſions of Array, with other unlawfull Commiſſions for the ſame purpoſe; By ſending forth Proclamations againſt both Houſes of Parliament, and ſeverall Members thereof, proclaiming them Traytors, againſt the Priviledges of Parliament, and Laws of the Land, By ſealing Commiſſions of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to proceed againſt them, and other of His Majeſties good Subjects, adhering to the Parliament, as Traytors; By ſending Commiſſions into *Ireland*, to treat a peace with the Rebels there, contrary to an Act of Parliament,

ment, made this Seſſion. Beſides divers other dangerous Acts paſſed under it, ſince it was ſecretly conveyed away from the Parliament; whereby great calamities and miſchiefes have enſued, to the prejudice of the Kingdome.

Miſchiefes ariſing through want of the Great Seale.

1. The Termes have been adjourned; the courſe of Juſtice obſtructed.

2. No originall Writs can be ſued forth without going to *Oxford*; which none who holds with the Parliament can do, without perill of his life or Liberty.

3. Proclamations in Parliament cannot iſſue out, for bringing in Delinquents impeached of High Treaſon or other crimes; under paine of forfeiting their Eſtates, according to the ancient courſe.

4. No Writs of Errour can be brought in Parliament, to reverſe erroneous judgements; nor Writs of Election ſued out for chuſing new Members upon death, or removall of any; whereby the number of the Members is much leſſened, and the Houſes in time like to be diſſolved, if ſpeedy ſupply be not had, contrary to the very Act for continuance of this Parliament.

5. Every other Court of Juſtice hath a peculiar Seale; and the Parliament, the Supreme Court of *England*, hath no other but the Great Seale of *England*; which being kept away from it, hath now no Seale at all; and therefore a new Seale ought to be made.

6. This Seale is *Clavis Regni*, and therefore ought to be reſident with the Parliament (which is the repreſentative Body of the whole Kingdome) whileſt it continues ſitting; the King, as well as the Kingdom, being alwaies legally preſent in it, during the Seſſion thereof.

The Lords upon theſe reaſons concurred with the Houſe of Commons, and order was given, that a

new Great Seale, ſhould forthwith be made, which was accordingly done.

It ſhould ſeeme the King was not well pleaſed with this action of the Parliament, as appeared by what was done at *Oxford* above a yeare after, when the King aſſembled together the Lords which were with him, and all thoſe Gentlemen that had been Members of the Houſe of Commons, and had deſerted the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, whom the King called his Parliament at *Oxford*, and propounded many things for them to debate upon; amongſt which it was taken into debate, and reſolved upon the Queſtion by that Aſſembly at *Oxford*, That this very action (which they ſtile counterfeiting the Great Seale) was Treaſon, and the whole Parliament at *Weſtminſter, eo facto*, guilty of High Treaſon. But this was paſſed at *Oxford* long after; of which occaſion may be to ſpeak further hereafter.

But at the time when the Parliament made their new Great Seale, the people ſtood at gaze, and many wondered what might be the conſequence of ſo unuſuall a thing. Some that wholly adhered to the Parliament, and liked well, that an action ſo convenient and uſefull to the preſent ſtate, was done by them, looked notwithſtanding upon it, as a ſad marke of the Kingdomes diſtraction, and a ſigne how irreconcileable the difference might grow betweene the Parliament and the Kings Perſon. For the legality or juſtneſſe of making of the Seale, there was little diſpute or argument among thoſe who were not diſaffected to the Parliament; and though there were no direct or plaine precedent for it (for the caſe of a Kings being perſonally in Warre againſt the Parliament ſitting, was never before) yet by compariſon with other times, when the neceſſities of State have required ſuch a thing, it was not onely allowed, but thought requiſite. I do not know of any thing written againſt it by any Lawyers, or other of the Kings Party;

Party; but Maſter PRYNNE, a learned Lawyer, and great Antiquary, of the Parliament ſide, hath written a copious diſcourſe in juſtification of it, both by arguments of reaſon, and many neere-reſembling precedents of former times) called, *The opening of the Great Seale of England*, which is extant to be read by any that would be ſatisfied, what power from time to time Parliaments have challenged and been allowed, over that Seale, both in making of it in the infancy or abſence of Princes, and diſpoſing of it in the dotage or wilfulneſſe of others.

But before this buſineſſe was fully concluded, another thing, which ſeemed as great a ſigne how wide the rent was growne, fell into debate in the Houſe of Commons: Some time was ſpent in conſultation about it, and much arguing on both ſides. The matter was about charging the Queene of High Treaſon. To that purpoſe many Articles of an high nature were drawne up againſt her; ſome of them were, That ſhe had pawned the Crowne Jewels in *Holland*; That ſhe had raiſed the Rebellion in *Ireland*; That ſhe had indeavoured to raiſe a Party in *Scotland* againſt the Parliament; That ſhe had gone in the head of a Popiſh Army in *England*: For not long before this time, the Queene with Armes and Ammunition from the Low-Countries, and Commanders of Warre from thence, had landed in the North of *England*, been entertained there by the Earle of *Newcaſtle*, and by him and others, with ſtrong Forces conveyed to the King at *Oxford*, whereof more particulars will be related hereafter. Divers other Articles were framed againſt the Queene, upon which within few Moneths after, ſhe was impeached of High Treaſon by the Houſe of Commons, and the Impeachment carried up by Maſter PYMNE to the Houſe of Peeres, where it ſtuck for many moneths, but was afterward paſſed there alſo; and may be further diſcourſed of in the due time.

It had been likewiſe before Ordered by both Houſes, and was now accordingly put in execution, that the King and Queenes Revenue comming into the Exchequer, ſhould be detained, and imployed to the Publike Service of the Common-wealth; a Committee was choſen of Lords and Commons to diſpoſe of it to the beſt uſes. Divers neceſſary charges of the State were defrayed by it, and among others (which ſeemed a kinde of juſt retalliation) many Members of both Houſes of Parliament, whoſe whole Eſtates had been ſeized upon by the Kings Armies, were in ſome meaſure relieved at *London*, out of his Revenue, and thereby enabled to ſubſiſt in that Publike Service, to which they had beene called.

But ſo exceeding great by this time, were the charges growne for ſupportation of ſo ſpreading a Warre, that no Contributions nor Taxes whatſoever, were thought ſufficient, unleſſe an Excize were impoſed upon Commodities (according to the way of the Netherlanders) ſuch as Beere, Wine, Tobacco, and Meat; which was taken into conſideration by both Houſes, and this Summer agreed upon. But the Excize was layed with much gentleneſſe, eſpecially upon all Victuals of moſt common and neceſſary uſe, inſomuch that it was little felt either by the rich, or poore people, and yet amounted monethly to a very conſiderable ſumme, though the Kings Quarters were then the greateſt part of *England*; for the City of *London* was within the Parliament Quarters.

To returne againe to the Lord Generall ESSEX; His Excellency in *May*, 1643. having, as aforeſaid, received intelligence of the defeat given to the Parliament Army in the Weſt, and in what condition things there ſtood; not being able with his owne Forces to give them reliefe, ſent order to Sir WILLIAM WALLER (whoſe actions ſhall be anon mentioned in a Series by themſelves) to march thither in

in aſſiſtance of the *Devonſhire* Forces; and writ his Command to the Governour of *Briſtoll*, to aid him with ſuch Horſe and Foot, as he could conveniently ſpare out of his Garriſon. But things could not at that time be put in execution according to his deſires; and before Sir WILLIAM WALLER could get farre into the Weſt, Prince MAURICE, Marqueſſe HARTFORD, and Sir RALPH HOPTON were joyned all together.

The Lord Generall, ſince it was much deſired by the City of *London*, from whom the ſupplies of money were to come, that he ſhould move with his whole Army towards *Oxford*, was content, though ſomewhat againſt his judgement, to proceed in that Deſigne; and marched with the maine Body to *Thame*, to meet there with the Forces ſent from the aſſociated Counties to his aſſiſtance; from whence (as a perſon, whoſe care and Command extended over the whole Kingdome, which was now overſpread with a generall Warre, and waſted by many Armies at once) he granted a Commiſſion, by direction of the Parliament, to the Lord FIELDING, (now Earle of *Denbigh* by the late death of his Father, who was ſlaine in a Skirmiſh, fighting againſt the Parliament) to be Generall of foure Counties, *Shropſhire*, *Worceſter*, *Stafford*, and *Warwick-ſhire*; to leavy Forces there, and conduct them into any part of the Kingdome, againſt the Kings Power, according to directions from the Parliament, or Lord Generall. He granted alſo at the ſame time another Commiſſion in the like manner to Sir THOMAS MIDDLETON, to raiſe Forces as Generall of all North *Wales*.

At *Thame* the hand of God, in an extreme increaſe of ſickneſſe (hundreds in a day deſperately ill) did viſite the Lord Generals Army; and by ſtrange unſeaſonableneſſe of weather, and great raine continuing fourteene daies, the place being upon a flat, moiſt

moiſt, and clayie ground, made it impoſſible for him to advance from that Quarter. In which time the Army was by ſickneſſe, and departure of moſt of the Auxiliary Forces, brought to a number utterly unable to attempt the former deſigne, without certaine ruine, the ſituation of *Oxford* upon the River of *Thames* conſidered; for the Lord Generall conceived it impoſſible (as himſelfe expreſſed) to block up the Towne, without a double number to what he then had.

But when the raine ceaſed, and the waters were ſo much abated, as to make the waies paſſable, intelligence was brought that Prince RUPERT had drawne out his Horſe and Foot toward *Buckingham*, with his Canon alſo; and had called in the Country, making open profeſſion before them, that he would give Battell to the Generall: The Generall marched with ſome ſpeed toward *Buckingham*, to fight with him. When he came within two miles of that Towne, he found the caſe farre otherwiſe, and had intelligence that the Prince had quitted *Buckingham* in a kinde of diſorderly manner; that the night before, he had horſed his Foot, and marched away, leaving ſome of his Proviſions behinde him.

The Lord Generall underſtood well, that it was not poſſible for him with his Traine of Artillery and Foot Companies, to follow the Enemy to any advantage. For if he had been at that time ſtrong enough in Horſe, his deſire was to have hindered Prince RUPERT from joyning with the Queene, who then was marching with a good Convoy of Horſe from the Northerne parts of *England*, (where ſhe had arrived from the *Netherlands*) toward *Oxford*. But being not able to follow that deſigne, he deſiſted from his march to *Buckingham*, ſending into the Town a Party of his Horſe, to quarter there that night, and to bring away that Proviſion which the Enemy had left there. He himſelfe, with the reſt of his Army, marched

marched to great *Brickhill*, a place moſt convenient to lye betweene the Enemy and *London*, to defend the Aſſociated Counties, to aſſiſt or joyne with the Forces of the Lord GRAY of *Grooby*, Sir JOHN MELDRUM, and Colonell CROMWELL, to whom he had before written, that if they could poſſibly, they ſhould fight with the Queens Forces, and ſtop her paſſage to the King. But it ſeemed that the buſineſſe could not be done; that the Queene and Prince RUPERT were ſuffered to joyne together with all their Forces. Sir WILLIAM WALLER had beene long victorious in the Weſt, yet now the Parliaments fortune, almoſt in every place, began to faile; and intelligence was brought to the Lord Generall, that Sir WILLIAM having almoſt gained the whole Weſt, and beſieging Sir RALPH HOPTON in the Devizes, a Towne of *Devonſhire*, was on a ſudden by unexpected Forces from *Oxford*, under the conduct of the Lord WILMOT, totally routed and forced into *Briſtoll*. The Lord Generall intending at the firſt report of this newes, to have marched himſelfe for relieving of the Weſt; upon more particular information, that Sir WILLIAN WALLERS Forces were ſo farre broken, that no aſſiſtance at all could be given by them, was inforced to deſiſt from that enterprize; conſidering alſo that his owne Army was ſhrunke, through the continuall increaſe of violent ſickneſſe, want of pay, clothing, and other neceſſaries, to a moſt unconſiderable number, he reſolved to proceed no further, nor to ingage that weake Army to the ruine of it ſelfe, and danger of the Kingdome; eſpecially ſince the Forces of the Aſſociated Counties could not with ſafety be commanded ſo farre from home. He therefore returned toward *London*, quartering that poore remainder of an Army at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, and other places neere adjacent. In this diſtreſſed condition I muſt a while leave that great Generall, untill ſome few

weekes time ſhall recruit his power, and enable him to make that famous and honourable expedition to the reliefe of *Glouceſter*.

So great at this time were the ſucceſſes which in all parts crowned the Kings Armies, that they ſeemed to poſſeſſe an abſolute Victory, and the Parliament in probability quite ruined; on one ſide the Lord Generals Army mouldered away by long ſickneſſe, and other wants; the long ſucceſſefull Sir WILLIAM WALLER, quite broken in the Weſt; and about the ſame time the Lord FAIRFAX, and his Sonne Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX (though reſerved by divine Providence for a tranſcendent height of honour in the future) with all the Gentlemen almoſt which ſerved the Parliament in thoſe Northerne parts, being defeated by the Earle of *Newcaſtle*; and the Lord FAIRFAX, with his Sonne, driven into the Towne of *Hull*: On the other ſide, the Kings Armies were full and ſtrong; Sir RALPH HOPTON, whom for his valour and induſtry the King had honoured with the Title of a Baron, was poſſeſſed of a gallant Army in the Weſt, and ſeemed to want nothing ſo much as a conſiderable Enemy; the Kings other Forces were free to chuſe what ſtage they pleaſed, to act their parts upon. Prince RUPERT was ſent to beſiege *Briſtoll*, where Colonell NATHANIEL FIENNES, ſecond Sonne to the Viſcount SAY, was Governour; which City in this low ebbe of the Parliament, could not long hold out, but was ſoone delivered ro the Prince, a place of as much concernment as any in the Kingdome. Prince MAURICE with another Army came to beſiege the City of *Exceſter*, into which the Earle of *Stamford* was retreated after his defeat at *Stretton* in *Cornwall*, a Nobleman who had long ſtrugled with various ſucceſſe, and in ſharpe encounters againſt Sir RALPH HOPTON, and other Commanders of the Kings ſide in thoſe Weſterne Counties, ruined at laſt by the treache-

treacherous revolt of ſome, who had taken the ſame cauſe with him at the firſt. This City was likewiſe after a long ſiege, for want of ſupplies, delivered upon Articles to the Prince that beſieged it.

But the great cloud, which not onely overſhadowed the Parliament in the North, but threatned to powre out ſtormes upon parts farre remote, was the Earle of *Newcaſtle*, with his mighty Army, who was growne formidable to the Aſſociated Counties, and many other places of the Kingdome. His Army was at that time the greateſt of any in *England*, which he maintained in brave equipage, by large Contributions inforced from the Country, and ſeemed of ſtrength enough, not onely to maſter any oppoſition of Engliſh Forces, but to ſerve as a Bulwarke againſt the greateſt Army which the Kingdome of *Scotland* could be able to ſend in aid of the Engliſh Parliament. For the Parliament had then ſent into *Scotland*, for the brotherly aſſiſtance of that Kingdom, and agreed upon entring into a Covenant with them for defence of Religion, and the common Liberty of both Nations.

It pleaſed the Divine Providence (whoſe workings are many times beyond the reach of humane conjectures) that this ſtrong Army, before the entrance of the Scots, found an Enemy in *England* worthy of their feare; and were by the perſonall valour and ſucceſſefull conduct of Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX, who ſeemed lately in a low condition, ſo farre broken (together with other defeats given to parts of it ſent abroad) that the paſſage for the Scots into *England* was much facilitated, as ſhall hereafter appeare in more particular.

But it is worthy conſideration (and therefore cannot but deſerve a mention) with what unwearied conſtancy, and wondrous magnanimity, the two FAIRFAXES, Father and Sonne, did labour to preſerve thoſe Northerne parts for the Parliament, eſpe-

cially obſerving what great Enemies they dealt withall; how many unexpected diſadvantages happened to them, and acceſſions of power to their Foes at ſeverall times; which, though it cannot be here related with full circumſtances or particulars, yet may be touched in a generall way.

The Lord FAIRFAX, ever ſince that there was any appearance of this unhappy Warre; and that the Kings Commiſſion of Array began to juſtle with the Parliaments Ordinance of Militia, had been very induſtrious in raiſing ſtrength; and joyned himſelfe moſt unanimouſly in that cauſe with Sir JOHN HOTHAM, and his Sonne Maſter JOHN HOTHAM, a Member alſo of the Houſe of Commons, and a Gentleman, not onely active but proſperous, whileſt he continued faithfull to that ſide which he had choſen. And ſince the Warre broke out into action, the Lord FAIRFAX, either ſingly by himſelfe, or ſome times joyned with Maſter HOTHAM, had taken and fortified many Townes and Forts for the Parliament, and made many ſharpe and fierce encounters againſt potent Enemies. The Earle of *Cumberland*, who was firſt made Lord Lieutenant of *Yorkeſhire* by the King, was not able to ſuppreſſe them, nor ſcarce maintaine the Warre againſt that power which they had raiſed: Maugre whoſe Forces, they tooke and fortified *Cawood* Caſtle, and the Towne of *Selby*, in the Moneth of *October*, 1642. and ſurpriſed preſently after the Towne of *Leedes*, where part of the Earles Forces were quartered, of whom they tooke divers Priſoners, Knights and Gentlemen of good quality, one of which was Sir GEORGE DETHERICK, together with his whole Troope.

The Earle of *Cumberland* himſelfe, within few daies after was driven into the City of *Yorke*, and there beſieged, and ſummoned by the Lord FAIRFAX and Maſter HOTHAM; which happened about the ſame time that the famous Battell between the King

King and the Lord Generall *Eſſex*, was fought at *Keynton*.

But the Earle of *Newcaſtle* with a greater force, entred into *Yorke*, whileſt the Lord FAIRFAX and Captaine HOTHAM, lay not farre off; who, notwithſtanding his great ſtrength when he marched out of *Yorke*, was encountered by them at *Tadcaſter*, upon the 7. of *December*, the Fight or ſeverall Skirmiſhes continuing about five houres; in which the Parliament Forces did ſo well take their advantages, that they ſlew (as was reported to the Parliament) 200 of the Earles men, with the loſſe of eight Souldiers of their owne, of whom Captaine LISTER was one, whoſe death was much lamented in the Country, being eſteemed a brave and religious man. After ſeverall Skirmiſhes, the Parliament Army had the fortune to make a faire retreat to *Cawood* Caſtle, and *Selby*, and leave all to the Earle, whoſe Forces were reported to be about eight thouſand Horſe and Foot, the Lord FAIRFAX and Captaine HOTHAM having not above 2100. Foot, and ſeven Troops of Horſe; their number had bin greater, if Sir HUGH CHOLMELY and Colonell BAINTON, with their Regiments of Foot, and two Troops of Horſe (who were expected) had accordingly come in to them.

The Earle of *Newcaſtle* was now growne, not only maſter of the field there, but formidable to all the adjacent Counties; who did therefore implore aid from the Parliament. The Parliament upon that occaſion, haſtened the Aſſociation of thoſe Counties which lay neerer to them, that they might be the more able to ſupply their remoter friends.

The Kings ſide received then an addition of ſtrength in the North, by the landing of Colonell GORING at *Newcaſtle*, with 200. Commanders from *Holland*, and other Proviſions for the Warre.

The Earle of *Newcaſtle* marching from *Tadcaſter*, ſurpriſed *Leedes*, in which Towne he tooke many

Gentlemen Priſoners, and forced them to ranſome themſelves at high rates; whereby he was further enabled to pay his great Army. Then alſo he gave Commiſſions to Papiſts in that Country to arme themſelves in the Kings Service, which he juſtified by writings publiſhed upon that occaſion; and at the ſame time proclaimed the Lord FAIRFAX Traytor.

The Lord FAIRFAX notwithſtanding, marched with ſuch Forces as he had gotten together, and proved ſucceſſefull in divers attempts, againſt ſeverall parts of the Earle of *Newcaſtles* Forces, one of them happening at *Sherburne*, between *Tadcaſter* and *Doncaſter*, and another at *Bradford*, againſt a party of the Earle of *Newcaſtles* Army, under the conduct of Colonell GORING, Colonell EVERS, Sir WILLIAM SAVILE, and Sir JOHN GOTHERICK, who came with a good ſtrength of Horſe and Dragoneers to ſurprize on a ſudden that Towne of *Bradford*; but were by Forces timely ſent to the reliefe of it, forced to retire with ſome loſſe; which, though it were not a Victory againſt Colonell GORING and the reſt, may notwithſtanding be termed a ſucceſſefull Action, in being able to repell an Enemy too potent for them in all probability.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Some Actions of Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX *in the North. The Queene lands in* England. *The revolt of Sir* HUGH CHOLMELY, *and the two* HOTHAMS. *The ſtate of this Warre in the Weſterne parts. The condition of the Aſſociated Counties. A ſhort relation of Sir* WILLIAM WALLER *his Actions; of Colonell* CROMWELL, *Sir* WILLIAM BRERETON, *and Sir* JOHN GELL.



GReat were the atchievements of Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX in that moneth of *January*, and the following *February*; for no ſeaſon of the yeare, nor ſtormes of winter, could quench the rage of this Civill Fire. Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX on the 23. of *January*, 1642. marched from *Bradford* (ſix miles diſtant from *Leedes*) with ſix Troops of Horſe, and three Companies of Dragoones, under the command of Sir HENRY FOULIS Baronet, his Lieutenant Generall of his Horſe, and neere 1000. Muſqueteers, with 2000. Clubmen, under the Command of Sir WILLIAM FAIRFAX Colonell, and Lieutenant Generall of the Foot. When Sir THOMAS approached the Town of *Leeds*, he diſpatched a Trumpeter to Sir WILLIAM SAVILE, Commander in chiefe there, under the Earle of *Newcaſtle*, requiring the Towne to be delivered to him for the King and Parliament. But receiving a reſolute, and ſeeming-ſcornefull anſwer from Sir WILLIAM SAVILE, he drew neerer, and prepared

to

to make an Aſſault, though there were great ſtrength in the Towne, namely, 1500 Foot, and 500. Horſe and Dragoones, with two Braſſe Sakers. Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX drew out five Companies of his moſt expert Souldiers, whom he diſpoſed of at a fit ſide of the Town, under the command of Major FORBES, Captaines, BRIGGS, LEE, FRANKE, and PALMER. Sir WILLIAM FAIRFAX, at the head of his Regiment, and the face of the Enemy, ſtormed the Town with great skill and courage, whileſt Major FORBES did the like in his place, and Sir THOMAS himſelfe every where encouraging, and teaching valour by his owne example, brought on his men; ſo that after two houres of hot fight, though the beſieged behaved themſelves well, the Towne was entred by Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX, Sir WILLIAM FAIRFAX, and Sir HENRY FOWLES, on one ſide, and Major FORBES, with his fellow Captaines, on the other. They toooke within the Towne their two Braſſe Sakers, with good ſtore of Armes and Ammunition, foure Colours, and 500. Priſoners, among whom were ſix Commanders: The Common Souldiers, upon taking of an Oath, never to fight in this cauſe againſt the King and Parliament, were ſet at liberty, and ſuffered to depart, but without their Arms. There were ſlaine about forty men, of which number the beſieged loſt the greater halfe. Serjeant Major BEAMONT, indeavouring in the flight to ſave his life, by croſſing the River, ſo loſt it, being drowned therein; and Sir WILLIAM SAVILE himſelfe, croſſing in flight the ſame River, hardly eſcaped the ſame fate. Publike thankſgiving to Almighty God was given at *London* for this Victory.

Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX with his victorious Forces, immediately marched to another Quarter of the Earle of *Newcaſtles* Army at *Wakefield*, from whence the chiefe Commander, Sir GEORGE WENTWORTH fled, and left it to him. Not long after, he marched

marched to *Tadcaſter*; at whoſe approach the Earles Forces, though a conſiderable number, fled away, and forſooke their Workes.

From that time ſcarce any one fortnight of all the following Spring, paſſed without ſome remarkable addition of ſtrength to the Kings ſide, in thoſe Northerne parts. In *February* Generall KING, a Scottiſh Commander, of great experience in Military affaires, came out of *Holland*, landed at *Newcaſtle*, joyned himſelfe with the Earle of *Newcaſtle*, and paſſed to *Yorke* with 6000. Armes. In the ſame Moneth alſo the Queene landing from *Holland*, neere to *Sunderland*, with great Proviſion of Armes and Ammunition, and many Commanders of note in her Retinew, was convoyed by the Earle of *Newcaſtle* to the City of *Yorke*.

The Earle of *Montroſſe* about the ſame time, a young Lord of great eſteeme in *Scotland*, who before in the Scottiſh Warre (as is there mentioned) had ſhewed himſelfe one of the moſt active and zealous Covenanters of that Nation, forſooke his Party there, and with the Lord OGLESBY fled out of *Scotland* with 120. Horſe, to the Queene at *Yorke*. Upon which both thoſe Lords were proclaimed at *Edenburgh* Traytors to their King and Country, for that, contrary to their Covenant, they ſtole out of *Scotland*, to aſſiſt the Popiſh Army, (for ſo they called that of the Earle of *Newcaſtles*) againſt the Parliament of *England*.

Another great wound to the Parliament, not long after, was the revolt of Sir HUGH CHOLMELY, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, and one that had carried a good eſteeme among them, who had before (as is already mentioned) been imployed by the Parliament, as a Commiſſioner in the North, together with the Lord FAIRFAX, and Sir PHILIP STAPLETON; and was at this time highly intruſted by them; for he was Governour of *Scarborough*, a place

of great importance. He falſely betrayed his Truſt, and forſooke the Cauſe he had undertaken, going to the Queene with 300. men. Upon which he was impeached of High Treaſon by the Parliament; but it was not his fortune to ſuffer for that offence, as others did, who about the ſame time failed in their Truſts. The Towne of *Scarborough* was left in poſſeſſion of a Parliament Captaine, who was uſually called *Browne Buſhell*, a man that ſome thought would have kept it to the Parliaments uſe; he likewiſe revolted, and delivered it to their Enemies.

Upon the landing of Generall KING, and the Queene preſently after, a ſuſpition began to ariſe, by ſome circumſtances, that the two unfortunate HOTHAMS, the father and the ſonne, were falſe to the Parliament. Which by the ſtrict obſervation of ſome vigilant men on that ſide, was further diſcovered, and began at laſt to be diſcourſed of, with as little beliefe for a long time, as CASSANDRAES Propheties; and when it came more plainly to appeare, with as much, not onely wonder, but ſorrow of honeſt men, that ſo much unconſtancy ſhould be found. The particulars of this diſcovery, and how much the Parliament, if not timely prevented, had ſuffered by it, there will be time hereafter to diſcourſe of more at large. But they were both accuſed to the Parliament, ſeized upon at *Hull*, and ſent up to *London*, where they long remained Priſoners in the Tower, before the time of their Tryall and Execution.

Not all theſe diſadvantages, by the growth of Enemies, and revolt of friends, could diſhearten the Lord FAIRFAX and his Sonne, who ſtill perſiſted with great courage, and raiſing the Clubmen of the Country, to piece up thoſe ſmall Forces which remained with them, were able for a while to make conſiderable reſiſtance, and performe divers ſervices againſt ſome parts of the Earle of *Newcaſtles* vaſt Army. But one

one Victory was gained by Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX at *Wakefield*, which may be termed rather miraculous then ſtrange; though I ſhall relate nothing ſave knowne truth, ſuch a Victory, againſt ſo much odds, and ſo many diſadvantages, as may ſerve to teach how much ſucceſſe may poſſibly crowne bold attempts, and juſtifie that old ſaying, *Audaces fortuna juvat.*

The Lord FAIRFAX, Generall of the Parliaments Forces in the North, on the 20. of *May* gave Order for a Party to be drawne out from the Garriſons of *Leedes*, *Bradford*, *Halifax*, and *Howley*: They marched, 1000. Foot, three Companies of Dragoneers, and eight Troops of Horſe; Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX commanded in Chiefe; the Foot were commanded by Sir WILLIAM FAIRFAX, and Serjeant Major Generall GIFFORD; the Horſe divided into two Bodies, foure Troops whereof were commanded by Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX himſelfe, the other foure by Sir HENRY FOWLYS. From *Howley*, which was their rendezvouze, they marched away, and by foure a clock in the morning came before *Wakefield*: Thoſe of the Towne were ready for them, and ſent out ſome of their Horſe to encounter with theirs, and Muſqueteers to line ſome hedges, even to the very Towne. There were in *Wakefield* 3000. Foot, and ſeven Troops of Horſe, beſides Colonell LAMPTONS Regiment, which came into the Towne after that the Parliaments Forces entred into it. But at the firſt encounter the Parliaments Forces beat their Enemies Horſe back; and their Foot alſo drove thoſe Muſqueteers from the hedges, even into the Towne; which they aſſaulted in two places, called *Wrengate*, and *Northgate*. After an houre and an halfe fighting, recovered one of their Enemies Peeces, and turned it upon them; and withall entred the Town in both places at the ſame time. When the Baracadoes were opened, Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX with the Horſe,

alſo fell into the Towne, and cleered the ſtreet, there was a cruell and fierce encounter; in which place Colonell GORING was taken Priſoner by Lieutenant MATTHEW ALURED (brother to Captaine JOHN ALURED, a Member of the Houſe of Commons;) yet in the Market place ſtood three Troops of Horſe, and Colonell LAMPTONS Regiment; to whom Major Generall GIFFORD ſent a Trumpet, with proffer of Quarter, if they would lay down their Arms. To which when they returned a ſcornfull Anſwer, he fired a Peece of their owne Ordnance upon them, and the Horſe alſo falling in with great fury, ſoone beat them out of the Towne, and tooke all their Officers Priſoners. They tooke withall 27. Colours of Foot, three Cornets of Horſe, and about 1500. Common Souldiers. They were likewiſe forced when they fled, to leave behind them foure Peeces of Ordnance, with Ammunition, which the Parliament Forces carried away with them. For when they had thus taken the Towne, they found their number and ſtrength too weake to keepe it, and their Priſoners too. And therefore they quitted the place, and marched away with this brave booty.

This great Victory at *Wakefield*, ſeemed (according to the common ſaying) like a lightening before death; for not long after, theſe Forces were quite broken by the Earle of *Newcaſtle*, whoſe greatneſſe overſpread thoſe Countries, and was never incountered by any Enemy, but in parts of his Army. He had managed the whole buſineſſe, and attained his height of power by great skill and policy; and now having no neere Enemy in the field, was gone to beſiege the Lord FAIRFAX in *Hull*, which was by ſome talked of as an errour in him, no leſſe then beſieging *Glouceſter* ſoone after, by the King was cenſured.

Such a continuall and ſad Warre had the Northerne parts beea forced to endure all the winter. Nor was it their caſe alone; ſcarce any County of *England* was

was free from it. The whole Weſt, conſiſting of ſo many rich and flouriſhing Shires, had been as ſad a ſtage of civill Tragedies. Many Armies and ſmall Parties of either ſide (too many for one Hiſtory to deſcribe at large, or give particular due to the actions of every Gentleman) had been ingaged, without any intermiſſion in thoſe parts.

Of all Commanders there, that ſided with the King againſt the Parliament, Sir RALPH HOPTON, by his unwearied induſtry, and great reputation among the people, had raiſed himſelfe to the moſt conſiderable height, and continued the longeſt a Leader of Armies, as the ſequell of the Story will hereafter declare: But his ſucceſſes, through the whole courſe of his Actions, were very various, and many ebbs and flowes were in his fortune.

The Marqueſſe HARTFORD, though farre higher in Dignity, and greater by power of his large Commiſſion from the King (of which before is ſpoken) was not able to act ſo largely in the field as Sir RALPH did, though he were ſeldome idle, but buſie about Townes, and in ſmall Parties. They were both oppoſed in their beginnings, not ſo much by any Noblemen, or great Commanders imployed by the Parliaments Commiſſions, as by private Gentlemen of thoſe Counties; the chiefe of which were Sir FRANCIS POPHAM, and his Sons, Maſter STRODE a Deputy Lieutenant there, with others before named, beſides plaine Freeholders of the Country, who ſeemed to underſtand their owne Liberties and intereſt, which they had in the Common-wealth. Untill at the laſt the Earle of *Stamford*, a ſtout Gentleman, (who had beene before imployed about *Leiceſter*, againſt Maſter HASTINGS, with a Commiſſion from the Parliament, as Generall of Some Counties) was ſent into the Weſt.

The Earle of *Stamford* was by the Parliament made Lord Generall of all *South-Wales*, and the foure next

adjacent Counties, as *Gloceſter*, *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, and *Cheſhire*; with power to raiſe Forces in all thoſe Counties, to appoint Officers and Commanders over them, to traine and exerciſe the men, and to fight with all that ſhould oppoſe him. The Lord GRAY, Sonne and Heire to the Earle of *Stamford*, was appointed to ſucceed his Father, in his former Charge, and made Lord Lieutenant of five Counties, *Leiceſter*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, *Rutland*, and *Lincolne*, to continue the Warre againſt Maſter HASTINGS, the Earle of *Cheſterfield*, and others, who oppoſed the Parliament in thoſe parts.

The Earle of *Stamford*, at his firſt comming into the Weſt, was ſucceſſefull againſt Sir RALPH HOPTON, whom he raiſed from the ſiege of *Plymouth*, but Sir RALPH HOPTON not long after, by a ſtratagem of faining flight, entrapped many of the Earles men, conducted by a Lieutenant of his, and gave an overthrow to the Parliament Forces; betwixt whom, and the Earle of *Stamford*, upon the fifteenth of *March*, 1642. a Truce was made for twenty daies. The Earle, after the expiration of that Truce, againe taking the field, with a competent Army, was a while proſperous againſt Sir RALPH HOPTON; but not long after overthrown by the revolt of young CHUDLEY, Sonne to Sir JOHN CHUDLEY, by whoſe aſſiſtance before, thoſe Parliament Forces had been victorious. The Earle of *Stamford* was then inforced to betake himſelfe to the City of *Exceſter*, whither HOPTON and CHUDLEY followed him, to lay ſiege to the place. But Prince MAURICE was ſoone after ſent thither to command in chiefe; to whom at laſt (as is before expreſſed) it was upon faire Articles ſurrendred by the Earle of *Stamford*.

Notwithſtanding ſo many misfortunes, as had then fallen upon the Parliament ſide; about the end of *May*, 1643. they did not deſpaire of regaining the whole Weſt, by the active valour of Sir WILLIAM WALLER

WALLER, who about that time was very proſperous in thoſe Counties, and ſome parts of the Principality of *Wales*, and whoſe name was growne to be a great terrour to his Enemies. Of his actions, and by what degrees he grew into eſteeme and ſtrength, it will not be amiſſe to relate in a continued Series, conſidering how great a Generall he became afterwards in theſe Warres, and in what low Command he began. He was a Gentleman of faire experience in Military affaires by former travels, and ſervices abroad, of good judgement, and great induſtry, of which he gave many teſtimonies to the Kingdome.

Sir WILLIAM WALLER, about the time of the Battell of *Keynton*, received a Commiſſion to be Colonell of Horſe; and moving that winter following, as occaſions of the preſent Warre required, performed many exploits; he tooke in *Farnham* Caſtle, and paſſed Southward, after that *Portſmouth* by his aſſiſtance had been taken from Colonell GORING, and ſome other quick ſervices at *Wincheſter*, and in the Country thereabouts, which he had performed, joyning himſelfe with Colonell BROWNE, a Citizen of *London* (who tooke up Armes at the beginning of this Civill Warre, and continued till the very end, in high Commands, and reputation as high; of whoſe actions more muſt be delivered in the ſequell of this Hiſtory.) Colonell HURREY, and ſome others, paſſing into the Weſterne part of *Suſſex*, he layed ſiege to the City of *Chicheſter*; in that City many Gentlemen of ranke and quality had fortified themſelves, and gathered together much Armes and Ammunition for ſervice of the King againſt the Parliament.

About the middle of *December* appearing before *Chicheſter*, he was there met with ſome Forces, Troops of Horſe and Dragoniers, that came to his aſſiſtance from *Kent* and *Suſſex*, under the conduct of Colonell MORLEY, a Member of the Houſe of Commons, a Gentleman

Gentleman of good ranke in *Suſſex*, and great activity in the Parliament Service, and Sir MICHAEL LEIVESEY, a Kentiſh Knight. The Battery was placed by Sir WILLIAM at fit places, and all things ordered with great skill; but before the battery began, to ſave effuſion of blood, Sir WILLIAM, by the conſent of all his Officers, ſummoned the Town by a Trumpet, with ſuch Conditions offered, which were judged too high by the beſieged, and therefore at firſt not accepted of; yet after eight daies it was rendred to him upon no other Conditions then onely Quarter and faire uſage. The Priſoners which were taken there of note, were immediately ſent toward *London* to the Parliament, who were Sir EDWARD FORD, high Sheriffe of *Suſſex*, Sir JOHN MORLEY, Colonell SHELLEY, Maſter LEAUKNER, Colonell LINDSEY, Lieutenant Colonell PORTER, Major DAWSON, and Major GORDON, with Doctor KING, then Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and many other Officers and Commanders in Armes, to the number of 60. about 400. Dragoniers, and almoſt as many Foot Souldiers. In the *March* following, his imployment was in the Weſterne parts of *England*, where he raiſed Forces. The next in command under him, who continued with him in almoſt all his actions, was Sir ARTHUR HASLERIG, another Member of the Houſe of Commons, ſerving as Knight for *Leiceſterſhire*, a man that in all Battels and Skirmiſhes gave great proofes of his proweſſe and perſonall valour. Sir WILLIAM WALLER having now raiſed a competent force, and marching out of *Briſtoll* on the nineteenth of *March*, within two daies after approached *Malmeſbury*. Colonell HERBERT LUNSFORD a ſtout Gentleman, and a good Souldier, Brother to Sir THOMAS LUNSFORD, that was taken at *Keymton* Battell, was then Governour of *Malmesbury*; who upon the firſt approach ſent out ſeven Troops of Horſe, to begin an encounter with him; but they

were

were no waies able to indure the force of thoſe Horſe which Sir WILLIAM had drawne out againſt them, but fled immediately, ſome of them back into the Towne; many of them conceiving that there was ſmall ſafety in the Towne for them, fled quite away.

Sir WILLIAM aſſaulted the Towne the ſame day, but not prevailing then, he lodged there all night, preparing the next morning for another, and more fierce aſſault. But the beſieged conceiving the place unteneble, deſired a Parley, and yeelded upon Quarter. He tooke at *Malmesbury* one Peece of Ordnance, about three hundred Priſoners, whereof Colonell LUNSFORD, and Colonell COOKE were the chiefe, with almoſt twenty Officers great and ſmall; good ſtore of rich prize and Ammunition; the Conqueſt was bloodleſſe, and very few ſlaine on either ſide.

Within few daies after he obtained a very conſiderable Victory neere to *Glouceſter*, againſt the Lord HERBERT of *Ragland*, Sonne to the Earle of *Worceſter*, who with a great Army of Welchmen lay againſt that Towne; which, for the manner of it, in briefe was thus: Sir WILLIAM with his Forces, comming neere to *Cirenceſter*, made ſhew (the better to conceale his purpoſe) as if he intended to fall upon that Towne; but his deſigne was for *Glouceſter*, and had taken ſuch provident care, that the men in *Glouceſter* had notice of his purpoſe; and that with the help of his flat-bottomed Barges, which thence were brought to him in the nature of Waggons (uſefull both by land and water) he would tranſport his Forces over the River *Severne*, beyond *Glouceſter*, and fall upon the Reare of the Lord HERBERTS Welch Forces, when he was leaſt feared or expected; withall, he gave notice to the *Glouceſter* Forces to fall upon the Front of that Army, as he would upon their Reare. The Plot, as it was wiſely contrived, was ſucceſſefull in the event, and tooke ſo good

effect for him, that when the Lord HERBERT was in skirmiſh with the Forces of *Glouceſter*, and confident to cut them all off, being very few in comparion of his owne; Sir WILLIAM with his Army, neere *Highnam* their Quarter, fell ſuddenly upon the Reare of the Lord HERBERTS men, with ſuch fury, that they were all routed, and would gladly have fled, if they had knowne any way to eſcape. There were ſlaine of that Welch Army about 500. upon the place, neere a thouſand taken Priſoners, with all their Armes and Ammunition, the reſt wholly diſperſed and ſcattered, the Lord HERBERT himſelfe eſcaped by flight, and got to *Oxford*.

Sir WILLIAM WALLER, after this great Victory, marched from thence to *Tewkesbury*; at whoſe approach, thoſe of the Kings Souldiers, that were Garriſoned there, fled away, and left it to him; from whence marching further into the Country, he ſurprized divers ſtragling Troopers of the other ſide, with ſome Armes, Piſtols, and Carbines, together with ſixteene thouſand pound in Money, and carried away his booty to *Glouceſter*.

Within as ſhort a diſtance of time, he tooke *Chepſtow* in *Monmouthſhire*, and ſeized upon divers of thoſe that were Conſpirators for the betraying of *Briſtoll* (of which Treaſon I have ſpoken before) and who, upon the diſcovery of it, had fled from thence. At that place he tooke a Ship called the Dragon of *Briſtoll*, and great ſtore of wealth in her, belonging to thoſe who were his Enemies; which he ſeized, as a juſt booty, and much to his advantage.

From *Chepſtow* he marched with a ſwift pace to *Monmouth*; the Towne upon compoſition was ſoone rendred to him; from whence, after he had put a Gariſon into it, he marched to *Uske*, and ſummoned the Country; where divers Forces came in to him; among others Sir WILLIAM MORGAN his Sonne, of *Tredegan*, brought him five hundred armed men, and

and ſome Money; where alſo Maſter HERBERT of *Colebrooke* raiſed a thouſand men, and ſeized on *Abergaine* for the Parliament.

Sir WILLIAM WALLER in this high carriere of his fortune, was commanded back from the Weſt by the Lord Generall *Eſſex*, to come to the chiefe Army: Which being ſoone underſtood among thoſe of the Kings Army, he was way-layed by Prince MAURICE. The intention of Sir WILLIAM WALLER was to get to *Glouceſter* with his Forces; having therefore ſent away his Ordnance and Baggage, with his Foot to guard it over *Wye* to *Auſt*; himſelfe with his Horſe and Dragoones, reſolved to fall upon Prince MAURICE his Army, and force a paſſage thorow, which he did with great ſucceſſe, and ſmall loſſe; and as he marched afterward, cut down all the Bridges behinde him; whereby he hindred Prince MAURICE from marchimg after him. This courſe if the Prince had taken before him, Sir WILLIAM WALLER might have been kept in *Wales* to his great diſadvantage. But by that meanes of cutting down the Bridges, Prince MAURICE his purſuit being hindered, Sir WILLIAM WALLER, by aſſiſtance of the Governour MASSEY, regained many Townes poſſeſſed by the Kings Forces, eſpecially *Tewkesbury*, Sir MATTHEW CAREW being fled from thence. But there he tooke many Priſoners, much Armes and Riches; he placed a Garriſon there; and from thence, according to his firſt deſigne, arrived ſafe at the City of *Glouceſter*.

Sir WILLIAM WALLER continued not long at *Glouceſter*, but (being now diſpenced with for returning to the Lord Generall) according to his uſuall celerity, he flew to *Hereford*, before any feare or expectation of his comming. He tooke that Towne upon Quarter, and in it many Priſoners of great ranke and quality, among whom was the Lord SCUDMORE, with five revolted Members of the Houſe

of Commons, *viz.* The Lord SCUDMORES Sonne, Colonell HERBERT PRICE, Sir RICHARD CAVE, Lieutenant Colonell CONISBY, Maſter CONISBY, and beſides them, Sir WALTER PYE, Sir WILLIAM CROFTS, Lieutenant Colonell THOMAS PRICE, Serjeant Major MINTRIDGE, Sir SAMUEL AMBY, Serjeant Major DALTON, Captaine SOMERSET, Captaine SCLATER, Doctor ROGERS, Doctor GOODWIN, Doctor EVANS, and divers others; who were all carried away to *Glouceſter*.

Within three daies after that ſervice, he ſurpriſed the Towne of *Leinſter* in that County, twelve miles diſtant from *Hereford*, where he tooke good prize, diſarmed many of the Kings Party there, and placed a Garriſon in the Towne.

It was feared at that time by thoſe of the Kings ſide, that Sir WILLIAM WALLER, going on in ſo proſperous a way, might perchance ſurprize *Worceſter* and *Ludlow*: To prevent therefore his further proceedings, Prince MAURICE, with a good ſtrength of Horſe, was ſent from *Oxford*, with whom alſo the Marqueſſe of *Hartford* was joyned, to fall upon him. But Sir WILLIAM ſcowring the Countries thereabouts with his active Forces, and having diſarmed many of the other ſide in *Wilts* and *Somerſetſhire*, came to *Bath* with an Army much increaſed of late both in number and reputation; at which place Sir EDWARD HUNGERFORD, Sir JOHN HORNER, and Maſter STRODE, joyned with him to oppoſe Prince MAURICE and the Marqueſſe *Hartford*. About that part of the Country were frequent and fierce encounters, which laſted for a long time, and many retreats with great skill and courage were made on both ſides, when night parted the fury of their fights. But Sir WILLIAM WALLER proved for the moſt part victorious (whoſe particular actions there deſerve a more peculiar relation) and at laſt became Maſter of the field, chaſing his Enemies ſo farre

farre as a Towne called the *Devizes*, to which place he followed and beſieged them. The loſſes in all thoſe ſeverall encounters were very uncertaine, and variouſly reported, by reaſon that both Parties had many times liberty to bury their dead; but on the Parliament ſide were loſt one Major, one Lieutenant, and two Cornets. Sir ARTHUR HASLERIG was there wounded, but the danger was not very great. On the other ſide, beſides the uncertaine number of Common Souldiers, ſome of quality were ſlaine, among whom was Sir BEVILE GREENVILE, Lieutenant Colonell WARD, Major LOWRE, with five or ſix Captains, Sir RALPH HOPTON, the Earle of *Carnarvan*, and the Lord MOHUN were reported to be wounded.

Sir RALPH HOPTON was beſieged in the *Devizes* by Sir WILLIAM WALLER, and began to treat about the ſurrender of it; for Prince MAURICE and the Marqueſſe of *Hartford* were retired toward *Oxford*, where ſuddenly the fortune of warre changed, and Sir WILLIAM VVALLERS Army, by an unexpected party of freſh Forces, which came from *Oxford* (for the Lord Generall ESSEX his Army was ſo much waſted by ſickneſſe, and other diſtreſſes, that he could not at all ſtraiten *Oxford*, nor hinder any Forces from iſſuing thence) under the conduct of the Lord VVILMOT, was utterly defeated, ſcattered, and ruined, as was before mentioned. He himſelfe for ſecurity at the preſent, retired into the City of *Briſtoll*, from whence within few daies he rode, accompanied with ſome Gentlemen toward *London*, and was there received with great affection, and many promiſes of their beſt indeavour to ſet him forth with another Army.

The Kings Forces ſeemed now to have done the greateſt part of their worke, being in a manner ſole Maſters of the VVeſt, and moſt Northerne Counties of *England*, and having ruined the Lord FAIR-

FAX and Sir WILLIAM WALLERS Armies. Yet in all Counties the fortune was not alike; in many places thoſe Gentlemen which adhered to the Parliament, were able not onely to guard themſelves, but get ground upon their enemies, though thoſe actions were for the moſt part performed in skirmiſhes betweene ſmall parties, in preſerving their owne ſtrengths, or taking Townes from the other ſide, ſuch as had been in *Cheſhire*, *Lancaſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Derby*, *Leiceſter*, *Notingham*, and other places, which I ſhall briefly touch anon, after I have related in how contrary a condition to the North and Weſt, which had beene the ſeat of a fierce warre, and a prey to the greateſt and moſt potent Armies of either ſide; and how much happier then thoſe other Counties, which had beene alwayes moleſted with Alarms and Skirmiſhes, and ſuffered by pillaging on both Parties; the Eaſterne Counties of *England* had remained all the foregoing VVinter, and continued ſo during the whole progreſſe of this bloody VVarre, which were the Counties of *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, *Cambridge*, *Eſſex*, *Hartford*, *Huntingdon*. *&c.* who never were made the ſeat of any part of this civill VVarre. Theſe parts of the Kingdome had joyned themſelves in an Aſſociation by Authority of Parliament, with power to defend each other, and leavy Forces againſt all enemies to that cauſe; this great happineſſe of peace and quiet that they enjoyed, may be ſuppoſed to flow from the unanimity of their affections, which carried them all the ſame way; and true it is, that there was as much unanimity of opinion and affection in thoſe Counties among the people in generall, as was to be found in any part of *England*, but it was eſpecially among the common people; for a great and conſiderable number of the Gentry, and thoſe of higheſt ranke among them, were diſ-affected to the Parliament, and were not ſparing in their utmoſt indeavours to promote the Kings Cauſe, and aſſiſt his Force

Force againſt it; which might have throwne thoſe Countries (if not wholly carried them to the other ſide) into as much diſtraction, and ſad calamity, as any other part of the Land had felt; nor could that Aſſociation have been poſſibly made, if thoſe Gentlemen had not been curbed and ſuppreſſed by that timely care which the Parliament tooke, and more particularly by the ſucceſſefull ſervices of one Gentleman, Maſter OLIVER CROMWEL of *Huntington*, a Member of the Houſe of Commons; whoſe wiſdome, valour, and vigilancy, was no leſſe availeable in this important buſineſſe, then remarkable afterwards in the higheſt ſervices, and greateſt battels, of the whole Warre. Of this mans Actions (becauſe it pleaſed God to raiſe him afterward into the greateſt commands, and proſper in ſo high a meaſure all his undertakings, that he became within few yeares one of the chiefe props, on which the Parliament leaned, and greateſt ſcourges of the other ſid) let it not ſeeme amiſſe if I diſcourſe in a continued Series, during thoſe Moneths that intervened the Battell of *Keynton*; and that low ebbe of the Parliament which preceded the ſiege of *Glouceſter*.

The firſt Action that CROMWELL undertooke, was to ſecure the Towne of *Cambridge* for the Parliament, about the middle of January. Univerſities were of all places moſt apt to adhere to the Kings Party, eſteeming Parliaments, and eſpecially this, the greateſt depreſſors of that Eccleſiaſticall Dignity, in hope of which they are there nurtured.

Upon which reaſon they were packing up a large quantity of the Plate that belonged to all the Colledges, to ſend it away to the King, which would have made a conſiderable ſumme. This was foreſeene by CROMWELL; who by a Commiſſion from the Parliament, and Lord Generall *Eſſex* had raiſed a Troope of Horſe, and came downe into that Country, with authority to raiſe more Forces as occaſion

occaſion ſerved; he came to *Cambridge* ſoone enough to ſeize upon that plate, which was going to *Oxford*; but before his arrivall there, he performed by the way another ſervice: Sir THOMAS CONESBY, lately made High Sheriffe of *Hartfordſhire*, had received a Proclamation from the King, to proclaime the Earle of *Eſſex*, and all his adherents Traytors; and was then at St. *Albons* upon a Market day, proclaiming of the ſame; CROMWELL with his Troope ſeized upon him, and ſent him up to the Parliament.

Not long after he collected in convenient time the Forces of that County, and invited the neighbour Counties of *Eſſex*, *Suffolke*, and *Norfolke*, to their aſſiſtance, againſt an invaſion of the Lord CAPELL, who ſhould have been ſeconded by Prince RUPERT alſo, to invade that place, and hinder the Aſſociation; which had been done, if that timely prevention had not been uſed. This made them forbeare their intended invaſion, and retire to other parts.

About the beginning of March CROMWELL having raiſed a Regiment of Horſe, conſiſting of 1000. marched into *Suffolke* with much celerity, upon intelligence of a great and conſiderable confederacy held among thoſe Gentlemen which adhered to the Kings Party, at a Towne in that County called *Lowerſtoft*, a place of great conſequence: He ſurprized them unawares, gained the Towne with ſmall difficulty, and no ſhot at all. In which he tooke Priſoners Sir THOMAS BARKER, and his Brother Sir JOHN PETTUS, Maſter THOMAS KNEVET, two of the CATLINES, Captaine HAMMOND, Maſter COREY, Maſter TURRILL, Maſter PRESTON, and about 20. others of quality and ſubſtance. In that Towne he gained good ſtore of Ammunition, Saddles, Piſtols, Powder, Shot, and ſeverall Engines for Warre, enough to have ſerved a conſiderable Force. And certaine it was, that if CROMWELL had

had not ſurprized them in that nick of time, it had proved a matter of great danger to the County; for within one day after, as many more Knights and Gentlemen, that were liſted before, had met at the ſame place. This was a timely ſervice to the Parliament, and a great diſcouragement to all that Party in *Suffolke* and *Norfolke*, which adhered to the Kings ſide.

But when the Spring grew furrher on, and it was ſeaſonable to make longer Marches, about the beginning of *Aprill*, CROMWELL having well ſetled the buſineſſes of thoſe Aſſociated Counties, for the Parliaments uſe, and not confining his care and ſervices within thoſe parts onely, raiſed a greater Force, of ſuch as came freely and heartily in to him; with whom he marched along towards *Lincolneſhire*, with purpoſe to aſſiſt thoſe of his ſide, that warred againſt *Newarke*. *Newarke* was one of the ſtrongeſt Garriſons, which was then held of the Kings ſide, repleniſhed with many Gentlemen of *Lincolneſhire*, and other Shires, and ſome expert Souldiers, who inforced large Contributions from the adjacent Country, and made rodes often times even to the Walls of *Lincolne*. Colonell CROMWELL in his March thither, as he paſſed thorow the County of *Huntingdon*, diſarmed many that were ill affected to the Parliament, and increaſed by that meanes his ſtrength ſo farre, that he was growne above two thouſand ſtrong; and before he came to *Newarke*, receiving an addition of Horſe from Captaine HOTHAM, he alſo joyned with ſome Forces of *Lincolneſhire*. At his firſt approach neere to *Newarke*, it was his fortune to performe a good ſervice for his ſide; for when Captaine WRAY with his *Lincolneſhire* Horſe, had too raſhly quartered within a little of that Town, he was ſet upon in the night time by a ſtrong Party from the Towne; where after ſome little bickering, not being able to reſiſt ſo great a number, he was ſurprized

with his whole Troope; but the Alarum comming to CROMWELL, he advanced, and at ten a clock at night fell upon the Newarkers, reſcued Captaine WRAYS Troope, and tooke three Troops of theirs, with the ſlaughter of many of them.

After this, when he ſate downe before the Town, he was ſo vigilant upon all Sallyes that were made out, and ſo ſucceſſefull, that he tooke many men and Colours at ſeverall times; and with his Horſe, watching all occaſions, he once defeated a ſtrong Party of the Newarkers, neere to *Grantham*, where the odds of number was ſo great on their ſide, that it ſeemed almoſt a miraculous Victory. At another time he fell upon a Party of the Earle of *Newcaſtles* Army ſent toward *Newarke*, and quartering betweene that Towne and *Grantham*, of whom he ſlew many, tooke an hundred Horſe, and forty Priſoners.

Such things as theſe were the beginnings of CROMWELL, at his firſt entrance into the Souldiery; thoſe that muſt be called his deeds; were in the following yeares of this unhappy Warre, and will require a larger and more full expreſſion.

In thoſe other Counties which were named before this Diſcourſe of the Aſſociation, the fortune of Warre, during the aforeſaid Moneths, had been very various, and daily conteſtations happened, being for the moſt part betwixt ſmall Parties, and in beſieging, taking, and re-taking of Townes and Forts. In *Cheſhire* Sir WILLIAM BRERETON, a wiſe and vigilant man, who from the beginning of theſe troubles had taken charge of that County, ſerving in Parliament as Knight thereof, had ſo well acted his part againſt the Earle of *Darby* (made by the King Lord Lieutenant of that County, as well as of *Lancaſhire*) that he was the chiefe inſtrument of delivering *Cheſhire* out of his hands, and preſerving it for the Parliament, though the greater part of Gentry there adhered to the King: But it pleaſed God to give many Victories

Victories to Sir WILLIAM BRERETON againſt them.

He obtained about the beginning of *March*, a great Victory againſt thoſe of the Kings Party at *Middlewich* in *Cheſhire*; which Towne, after a ſharp incounter in the fields before it, he finally tooke, with 500. Priſoners, whereof many were Commanders and Gentlemen of great worth; which Victory did much advance the Parliaments Cauſe in thoſe parts.

He reſiſted with great ſucceſſe the Lord CHOLMELY, and Sir THOMAS ASTON, two powerfull men, and zealous for the Kings Party.

Having ſetled in ſome meaſure, by extraordinary care and wiſdome, his owne County for the Parliament, and raiſed many ſtout and well armed men there, he was forward to give aſſiſtance to other parts; and advancing into *Shropſhire* againſt the Lord CAPELL, he ſurpriſed a Towne called *Dreyton*, in which Sir VINCENT CORBET, a Commander of the Kings ſide, was quartered: But Sir WILLIAM BRERETON with ſmall oppoſition entred the Town, and tooke two compleat Troops of Horſe, and ſix Companies of Dragoneers. Sir VINCENT CORBET eſcaped by flight.

He marched thence along thorow thoſe Counties, and tooke ſome places of great import, as the affaires of both Parties ſtood at that time.

Sir WILLIAM went on proſperouſly, and within a ſhort time after tooke *Witchurch*, upon the edge of *Shropſhire*, with great ſtore of Armes and Ammunition, and many Priſoners of the Lord CAPELS Forces.

But Sir WILLIAM BRERETON, when he joyned Forces with other men, or came in opportunely to the reliefe or reſcue of ingaged friends, performed divers great and advantagious ſervices to the ſide he tooke, eſpecially when he joyned in Action with Sir JOHN GELL of *Derbyſhire*, a conſtant and ſucceſſefull

ceſſefull Actor for the Parliament; of whom by himſelfe, and together with Sir WILLIAM BRERETON, I ſhall make a further mention.

The County of *Derby*, full of Nobility and Gentry, was much ſwayed, even from the beginning of theſe diſtractions, againſt the Parliament; for ſcarce did any Gentleman in all that County, but Sir JOHN GELL, appeare for it at the firſt. He, with his brother, and ſome of his kinred, by the help of thoſe Freeholders and Yeomen that inclined that way, made a Party to reſiſt thoſe great ones, at ſuch a time, as muſt needs renowne his courage and conſtancy. And it pleaſed God to make him proſperous in that great and hazardous undertakings, and to carry it ſo during the whole Warre.

After the Battell at *Keynton*, he tooke a Commiſſion from the Earle of *Eſſex*, with great care and coſt he provided Arms, and timely ſeized upon the Town of *Derby*; which Town he ſo well fortified, that it proved a ſufficient defence againſt the aſſaults of potent Enemies, and a refuge upon all occaſions to the Parliaments friends; it was likewiſe, no doubt, a great incouragement to many of the neighbouring Counties, to ſtand upon their guard in the like kinde.

But the Walls of *Derby* could not immure Sir JOHN GELL, nor hinder him from acting his part abroad. In many Services he joyned himſelfe (not without good ſucceſſe) with Sir WILLIAM BRERETON, with Colonell CROMWELL, and marched ſometimes with the Lord GREY of *Grooby* (before mentioned, Lord Lieutenant of thoſe Counties) againſt Maſter HASTINGS, and againſt the Towne of *Newarke*.

In the Moneth of *February* he marched with thoſe Forces which he had, under the conduct of the Lord BROOKE, into *Staffordſhire*, to take in *Lichfield*, which was then poſſeſſed by a Garriſon of the Kings ſide. Having entered the Towne, they found hot and

and ſharpe reſiſtance, from a place of great ſtrength, called the Cloſe, or Cathedrall yard, a place famous in the ſucceeding Warre, as being often gained and re-gained, with the loſſe of much blood on either ſide.

CHAP. V.

The death of the Lord BROOKE, *and of the Earle of* Northampton. *A ſhort mention of ſome Actions in divers Counties. The low condition of the Parliament at that time. The ſiege of* Glouceſter.

WHile the Parliament Army continued at the ſiege of *Lichfield* Cloſe, their Generall the Lord BROOKE, as he looked out of a window, was unfortunately ſhot into the head, and dyed immediately; a man as much lamented by the Parliament, as any that ever fell on that ſide, and as much honoured for his Piety, Valour, and Fidelity.

After his death, Sir JOHN GELL ſucceeded in that Command, and about the beginning of *March* took the Cloſe, with very little loſſe of blood, though they had their Mynes ready prepared to blow up the Walls of the Cloſe, and had throwne Granadoes into it; which made the beſieged cry out for Quarter, which they obtained; for the Souldiers thought it not honourable (being in cold blood) to revenge their Generals death, by putting them to the Sword. But they tooke a good and rich booty of Money, Bagge, and Baggage, about a thouſand Armes, aud very conſiderable Priſoners, the Earle of *Cheſterfield*, with

his Sonne, and divers other Gentlemen of Ranke.

About the middle of that *March*, Sir JOHN GELL with an Army of fifteene hundred Horſe and Foot, advanced from *Lichfield* toward the Towne of *Stafford*; where it was his fortune to meet with the Earle of *Northampton* and his Forces, conſiſting of about twelve hundred Horſe, at a place called *Cranock-Greene*, or *Salt-Heath*, almoſt foure miles from *Stafford*: The Earle gave a brave and furious Charge upon them, and being ſtronger in Horſe, made Sir JOHN GELLS Horſe to retreat and diſorder at this firſt Charge; in which he tooke divers of them Priſoners, and ſurpriſed two Drakes. After that, he wheeled twice about their Foot, ſeeking his beſt advantage where to breake them: But Sir JOHN GELL, and his Commanders, did ſo well order their Battalia, that the Foot kept unbroken, and made good the field againe together with their Horſe, and re-ſaluted their hot Aſſailants, fighting Pell mell for a long time.

At this fierce incounter the Earle of *Northampton* himſelfe was ſlaine in the place, one Maſter LUCY and Captaine BAGOT, with many more, about whoſe number relations did not agree; a Cornet of the Kings alſo was here ſlaine, and his Colours taken, having on it a Crowne, and this Inſcription, *Carolus Rex*. Two other Cornets were there taken, of which one was the Princes, for the King, and Prince his Troops were both there. They tooke Priſoner one of the Earle of *Cheſterfields* younger Sons; and Sir JOHN GELL, by the timely comming in of Sir WILLIAM BRERETON to his aſſiſtance, before the fight was ended, obtained a great Victory, and drove his Enemies quite out of the field. Among the reſt, Maſter HASTINGS (as was then reported) having been once taken Priſoner, and reſcued, fled away wounded.

Thus it fell out, that theſe two Peeres, the Earle of

of *Northampton*, and the Lord BROOKE, who firſt of all the Nobility, at the breaking out of this Civill Diſtraction, had perſonally conteſted in one County, about the Parliament Ordinance of Militia, and the Kings Commiſſion of Array, within a ſmall diſtance both of place and time, ended their daies by this unhappy Warre. They were both much lamented by their owne Parties, both men of worth and courage, though much different in the manner of their lives and converſations.

As *Cheſhire*, though a County where many Papiſts inhabited, was by the ſucceſſefull care of Sir WILLIAM BRERETON and other Gentlemen, kept from deſerting the Parliament, and able to reſiſt the Earle of *Darby*, the Kings Lieutenant there: So her ſiſter *Lancaſhire*, more full of Papiſts, and more fiercely aſſaulted by that Earle, under the ſame authority, being the place of his chiefe reſidence and power, was able not onely to reſiſt him, but finally beat him out of the Country by the courage and induſtry of divers Proteſtant Gentlemen of that Shire; of whom I have named many in the precedent Book. But it is fit to give a little touch of the chiefe actions.

The Parliament, in midſt of winter, when that County was in the greateſt diſtraction, had ſent down Sir JOHN SEATON, a Scottiſh Knight, an experienced and ſtout Commander, as Major Generall of the Forces in that Shire, that he might direct the unskilfull valour of that people, though many of thoſe Gentlemen had done great ſervices before, as appeared at *Mancheſter*, and ſome other places.

One of his exploits was at *Preſton*: Sir JOHN SEATON having ſetled himſelfe at *Mancheſter*, marched from thence about the beginning of *February* toward *Preſton*, with Major Generall SPARROW, Colonell HOLLAND, Captaine BOOTH, Serjeant Major BIRCH, Maſter NOWELL of *Mearkley*, and ſome

ſome other, with about ten Companies, and almoſt two thouſand Clubmen, to take in *Preſton*, a Town well fortified, and very ſtoutly defended; but it was ſo furiouſly aſſaulted (Captaine BOOTH in perſon firſt ſcaling the Walls) by the Parliament Forces, that after two houres of extreme hot fight, the Parliament Forces were Maſters of it: The Town was taken with ſmall loſſe of the aſſailant ſide, which was wonderfull; not one Officer, and not above ſeven or eight Common Souldiers. On the other ſide many fell, the Mayor of the Town, ADAM MORTE, with his Sonne, Sir GILBERT HOUGHTONS Brother, a Captaine of Horſe, with divers others of quality; Sir GILBERT himſelfe fled to WIGHAM. They tooke two hundred Priſoners, whereof many were Gentlemen of good ranke in the Country: They tooke three Peeces of Ordnance, many Muſkets, and other Armes, with two or three Colours. The taking of this Town was of great conſequence, both toward the maintenance of the Parliament Forces, and alſo to ſtop the paſſage from *Newcaſtle* to *Cheſter* and *Shrewsbury*.

Shortly after Serjeant Major BIRCH was ſent from *Preſton* to *Lancaſter* Towne; who without any great oppoſition (for he came ſuddenly and unexpected) ſoone entred the Towne with his whole Company; and being entered, the Townesmen aſſiſted him very freely to winne the Caſtle there; which he tooke into his poſſeſſion for the Parliament.

Wiggon alſo in *Lancaſhire*, was taken in, with great ſtore of Armes and Priſoners, by Sir JOHN SEATON, with thoſe Gentlemen that followed him, together with the Townesmen of *Mancheſter*, and other Clubmen of the Country, whom they had gotten together.

The Earle of *Darby* deſiſted not from his indeavours to reduce that County; but marched with a conſiderable ſtrength to take in *Whaley*, which he had

had almoſt accompliſhed, but was notwithſtanding repelled from thence by the Forces of the Country.

The ſame Earle had likewiſe poſſeſſed himſelfe of *Warrington*, a conſiderable Towne in *Lancaſhire*; and left a Garriſon in it; but at the beginning of *June*, that Towne was regained by the Forces of *Mancheſter*, with eight Peeces of Ordnance, and five or ſix hundred Priſoners; by which all *Lancaſhire* ſeemed to be reduced to the obedience of the Parliament, ſcarce any place of conſiderable ſtrength being left in the power of the Earle of *Darby*.

The Lord GRAY of *Grooby*, had been long poſſeſſed of *Leiceſter*, as the chiefe quarter where he reſided; and beſides his actions at other parts about that place, with various fortunes had oppoſed the Forces of Maſter HASTINGS, who kept a Garriſon at *Aſhby de la zouch*, and acted with great fervour and conſtancy for the Kings Cauſe.

Hampſhire had been much diſtreſſed by both Parties; but the Kings Garriſon of *Winchester*, and that of *Baſing-Houſe*, the dwelling place of Marqueſſe *Winchester*, were there predominant, and at their pleaſure forced Contribution from the adjacent Country; *Wales* was almoſt wholly at the Kings diſpoſe, except very few places, which with much difficulty preſerved themſelves for the Parliament; and ſome Gentlemen, who with much hazard continued their fidelity to that ſide, ſuch as Colonell GLYNN, Colonell MITTEN, and LAUGHERNE, with other private Gentlemen. But indeed the Parliament was then in a low ebbe; and before the end of that *July*, 1643. they had no Forces at all to keep the Field; their maine Armies (as is before touched) being quite ruined, and no hope in appearance left, but to preſerve a while thoſe Forts and Townes which they then poſſeſſed; nor could they long hope to preſerve them, unleſſe the fortune of the field ſhould change.

Thus ſeemed the Parliament to be quite ſunke beyond any hope of recovery, and was ſo believed by many men. The King was poſſeſſed of all the Weſterne Countries, from the fartheſt part of *Cornwall*, and from thence Northward as farre as the Borders of *Scotland*. His Armies were full and flouriſhing, free to march whither they pleaſed, and enough to be divided for ſeverall exploits; one part was ſent to take in *Exeter*, where the Earle of *Stamford* was ſhut up, not able long to hold the place. The King in Perſon with a gallant Army, deſigned his March towards *Glouceſter*, the onely conſiderable Towne in thoſe parts, which the Parliament held. What the Kings Party conceived then of the other ſide, was expreſſed in many Writings, one in the nature of a jeering Epigram, was made at *Oxford*, which I thought fit to inſert, becauſe of the particular expreſſions of the Parliaments low Condition: The thing is written in an odde manner, and the names of the Parliament Commanders, FAIRFAX and WALLER, expreſſed by a *rebus* way of Latine, as likewiſe thoſe of the Kings ſide, Marqueſſe of *Hartford*, and Earle of *Newcaſtle*. I leave it to the Reader without either Tranſlation or Comment.

EXtincta Caſtro Fax pulchra novo eſt;
Nec Nautæ poſtea nec militi
Sit nota Pharos, Auſter diſparem
Haud tulit caſum: Murus, cui addita eſt
Canina littera, merſa eſt ſuis
Cum turmis nuper Leporis vado.
Euri κατὰ τὸν *Briſtonia*
Leporinos horreſcens vortices.
Anglica Claudii timet pares
Urbs caſus; Herois Teutonici
Myrmidones aſtant magno cum Duce.
Pacata Thule eſt; nec Noto timor
Popello aut Regi. Nihil relictum eſt

Britanicum

Britanicum domare Cæſarem
Ni [illegible] *preces Gregis.*
Hæc Sphinges raptim Oedipo ſuo.
Julii 20. 1643.

London was then altogether unfortified, no Works were raiſed; nor could they, if their Enemies, then Maſters of the field, had come upon them, have oppoſed any Walls, but ſuch as old SPARTA uſed for their Guard, the hearts of couragious Citizens. But at that time *London* began her large intrenchment; which incompaſſed not onely the City, but the whole Suburbs on every ſide, containing about twelve miles in circuit. That great worke was by many hands compleated in a ſhort time, it being then a cuſtome every day to go out by thouſands to digge, all Profeſſions, Trades, and Occupations, taking their turnes; and not onely inferiour Tradeſmen, but Gentlemen of the beſt quality, Knights, and Ladies themſelves, for the incouragement of others, reſorted daily to the Workes, not as ſpectators but aſſiſtors in it; carrying themſelves Spades, Mattoks, and other inſtruments of digging, ſo that it became a pleaſing ſight at *London*, to ſee them going out in ſuch order and numbers, with Drums beating before them; and put life into the drooping people (being taken for an happy Omen) that in ſo low a condition they ſeemed not to deſpaire. But bootleſſe in probability had that labour proved, and not timely enough to ſave *London*, if the King had marched thither inſtead of *Glouceſter*.

But that ſtorme of Fortune was ſtrong enough to ſhake off divers of the looſe leaves, that ſeemed to grow on the Parliament ſide, and unſettle the reſolutions of ſuch, as were not enough rooted in that Cauſe which they had choſen: For divers men of great quality, and Members of both Houſes, ſome Lords, and many of the Commons, did at that time

deſert the Parliament, and fly to *Oxford* : Whoſe names (though the Lords were named, who firſt deſerted it) are here ſpared, becauſe this latter revolt muſt needs carry the face of a crime; as being no matter of opinion or conſcience, by which the firſt juſtified themſelves; but proceeding, in all probability, from weakneſſe, and feare for their private fortunes. They therefore loſt much of their eſteeme on both ſides; becomming like a foile to ſet off the conſtancy of thoſe few Members who durſt yet continue there, and remaine firme to their firſt Principles, and publike Intereſt; wading thorow more difficulties and dangers, then any former Parliament had been enforced to do.

But in the Parliament it ſelfe there appeared no ſhow of deſpaire, as they obſerved who were then witneſſes of their proceedings; and the City of *London* expreſſed much forwardneſſe and alacrity in recruiting the Lord Generall *Eſſex* both with their perſons and purſes; beſides their great indeavour to raiſe another Army for Sir WILLIAM WALLER, to be as a Reſerve to the other, upon the great occaſion then in hand.

The Earle of *Manchester*, to his laſting Honour, choſe that very time to begin his Martiall imployment; and raiſing Forces thorow the Eaſterne Aſſociated Counties (of which he was then made Generall by the Parliament, thoſe Counties having been before prepared for that Aſſociation, by the wiſdom and activity of the forementioned Colonell CROMWELL) performed that yeare and the next great ſervices for the Parliament.

While the Parliament and City of *London* were thus buſied in recruiting their decayed Armies, *Glouceſter* began to be made the chiefe Scene, on which this Civill Tragedy was acted, and place of great concernment in the Kingdome, where the firſt turne of Fortune grew. The City of *Glouceſter* was then governed

governed by Colonell EDWARD MASSEY, a man of excellent skill to defend it; of ſuch a courage, as no threats of a powerfull Enemy could ſhake; and ſuch a fidelity, as no promiſes of a King could overcome. This MASSEY was brought to *Glouceſter* by the Earle of *Stamford*, under whom he had ſerved as Lieutenant Colonell, and by deputation from that Earle, had for many Moneths governed that City.

Now there was no more expectation of the Earls returne thither; and therefore MASSEY, as the fitteſt man, by conſent both of Citizens and Souldiers, was appointed Governour, and made a Colonell by Commiſſion from the Generall.

The ſurrender of *Briſtoll* to the Kings Forces (which was more ſudden then could be feared, and for which afterward the Governour Maſter FIENNES was queſtioned, and condemned by a Councell of Warre) muſt needs ſtrike a great terrour, and ſad amazement into *Glouceſter*, which now ſeemed to ſtand forlorne, and without hope of any reſcue, in the midſt of a large Country, poſſeſſed by their victorious Enemies.

It cannot be denyed, that the reſolution which this City had taken up, of reſiſting the King at ſuch a time, was very admirable, if a man conſider the ſmall ſtrength they had within; the many diſcouragements round about them; the great diſtance of any aid that could be ſent to them. Their ſtrength within was very ſmall; the whole number of Souldiers, Horſe, Foot, and Dragoones, together with the Trayned Bands, and thoſe Horſe and Dragoones, which on a ſudden they got from *Barclay* Caſtle, conſiſting of few more then fifteene hundred; forty Barrels of Powder was all their ſtore, with a very meane and ſlender Artillery for ſuch a Service: The Works were of a vaſt compaſſe, and little more then halfe perfected, when this rough ſtorme did firſt threaten them.

The whole Country round about them, inſtead of incouraging this reſolution of theirs, did rather indeavour to ſhake and weaken it, by intimations of the danger, and perſwaſions to make Peace with ſuch an Enemy: For they had revolted from the Parliament, or reſolved ſo to do; and wiſhed, for their owne private Intereſts, that the King were quietly poſſeſſed of that City; for they conceived (not without reaſon) that the ſtanding out of *Glouceſter* would be unhappy for that Country; becauſe by the falling downe of a great Army, they could not but expect a deſtruction of their Corne, Cattle, and all other Proviſions; and at the laſt, if it ſhould ſo fall out, that the King ſhould faile of taking in that Towne, they muſt be inforced to ſtoope perpetually under two burdens, and be caſt into a ſadd condition of povety and miſery. Whereas if that Army did prevaile, they were ſure to reſt in the heart of the Kings Country, farre from ſpoile and plunder, and for an eaſie Contribution, injoy free and ample Trade.

The ſuccour which the City could expect, was as farre off as *London*, and in what condition the Parliament Armies then were, is before related. Notwithſtanding all this, the Citizens of *Glouceſter*, together with examining what ſtrength they had, examined alſo the grounds of their perſeverance. A Common-Councell was held, where the Officers of the Souldiery were preſent; their late Proteſtation was called to remembrance, and read there; by which they were all obliged, never to act or comply with the adverſe Faction. Upon which conſideration they heightened their courages, and unanimouſly reſolved to refuſe the tender of peace. Privare cares were then forgotten, and not onely men, but women and children, acted their parts, in making up thoſe defects that were in the Fortifications.

In this condition ſtood *Glouceſter*, when the King

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in Perſon attended with a great and gallant Army, full of the flower of Engliſh Nobility and Gentry, was come to beſiege it, being the tenth of *Auguſt*, 1643.

Part of the Kings Forces, ſome daies before, had been diſcerned hovering on the top of the hills; and a Summons had been ſent from Prince RUPERT to the City: To which the Major gave anſwer, That he kept the Towne for His Majeſties behooſe, and could not render it. Which Anſwer, though laughed at by thoſe of the Army, the Major conceived very juſtifiable, and that he did truly hold it for the uſe of His Majeſty, but according to the ſenſe of both Houſes of Parliament.

The King was full of indignation, that ſuch a forlorne City ſhould ſtand out againſt him; yet he deſired to gaine it without blood, and loſſe of time, which ſeemed then pretious in his full carriere of Victory. To that purpoſe he came in Perſon before it, that the reverence or terrour of his preſence might prevaile with them; and being come before the City, he gave this honourable Summons by two Heraulds of Armes.

CHARLES REX.

OUt of our tender compaſſion to our City of Glouceſter, *and that it may not receive prejudice by our Army, which we cannot prevent, if we be compelled to aſſault it: We are Perſonally come before it, to require the ſame, and are gratiouſly pleaſed to let all the Inhabitants of, and all other perſons within that City, as well Souldiers as others, know, That if they ſhall immediately ſubmit themſelves, and deliver this City to us, we are contented freely and abſolutely to pardon every one of them without exception; and do aſſure them in the word of a King, That they nor any of them, ſhall receive the leaſt dammage or prejudice by our Army, in their Perſons or Eſtates: But that we will appoint ſuch a Go-*

a Governour, and a moderate Garriſon to reſide there, as ſhall be both for the eaſe and ſecurity of that City, and the whole Country. But if they ſhall neglect this offer of Grace and Favour, and compell us by the power of our Army to reduce that place (which by the help of God we ſhall eaſily and ſhortly be able to do) they muſt thank themſelves for all the calamities and miſeries which ſhall befall them. To this Meſſage we expect a cleare and poſitive Anſwer, within two houres after the publiſhing hereof; and by theſe Preſents do give leave to any perſons ſafely to repaire to, and returne from us, whom that City ſhall deſire to imploy unto us in that buſineſſe. And we do require all the Officers and Souldiers of our Army, quietly to ſuffer them to paſſe accordingly.

After ſome debate upon this Meſſage, an Anſwer was drawne and conſented unto, both by the Citizens and the Souldiers; which was preſented to the King by Serjeant Major PUDSEY, and a Citizen; as followeth:

WE the Inhabitants, Magiſtrates, Officers, and Souldiers within this Garriſon of Glouceſter, *unto his Majeſties Gracious Meſſage returne this humble Anſwer, That we do keepe this City, according to our Oath and Allegiance, to and for the uſe of his Majeſty, and his Royall Poſterity; and do accordingly conceive our ſelves wholly bound to obey the Commands of His Majeſty ſignified by both Houſes of Parliament; and are reſolved, by Gods helpe, to keepe this City accordingly.*

The King received this Anſwer to his Summons, without any expreſſion of choller or indignation, ſeeming onely to wonder at their great confidence, and from what hope of reliefe it ſhould proceed, uſing theſe words before the Meſſengers, WALLER *is extinct, and* ESSEX *cannot come.* But by this time the

the Kings Army was drawne into the fields about *Glouceſter*, Prince RUPERT and Generall RIVEN facing it on one ſide with about ſix thouſand Horſe and Foot, and two thouſand Horſe on the other; and immediately after this Anſwer, advanced forward into the Suburbs, on the Eaſt ſide of the City; but were there entertained with an hot Skirmiſh, and fired out. For upon the returne of the Meſſengers, the Suburbs were ſet on fire, and flaming round about, became an object of great terrour; by which the Citizens ſeemed more ingaged to purſue their reſolution; and the Kings Army to ſettle themſelves for gaining by force what they perceived would not be yeelded on other termes.

That very night the Kings Army began their Intrenchments within Musket ſhot of the Walls, on two ſides of the City, taking advantage for their ſecurity, of the ſhadow and ſhelter of ſome few Houſes which the flames had not catched. Which being perceived, the Musketeers plyed them from the Walls, but could do little hurt ſo againſt the Pyoneers; which cauſed the beſieged to make ſeverall Sallyes by ſmall Parties into thoſe Trenches, and at ſome places beat them out, gaining both Armes and Priſoners, and retreating ſafe.

Sir WILLIAM VAVASOR had advanced with his Welch Forces on the Weſt ſide, and made neere approach that way, intending to joyne with other Forces that came from *Worceſter*, and had drawne themſelves together on the North-Weſt ſide. On the South ſide Generall RIVEN placed his Leaguer, taking advantage of a riſing ground in the midſt, to ſhelter himſelfe from the ſhot of the beſieged. Sir JACOB ASHLEY, who in the firſt Skirmiſhes had received a wound, was quartered with a ſtrong Brigado at the Eaſt ſide of the City.

Thus was *Glouceſter* on all ſides blocked up, and nothing expected but a moſt furious and bloody buſineſſe

ſineſſe. The Kings Commanders, being many of them Gentlemen of great skill, and experience of Conduct, had made their approaches (by the confeſſion of all) with as much advantage as could be; and placed their Batteries accordingly; the Souldiers on that ſide had ſhewed themſelves very ſwift and indefatigable in their Intrenchments, and as bold in all attempts which they made upon the Towne. Nor were the beſieged behind hand in courage, patience, and activity; as appeared not onely in their defences, but frequent Sallyes; the Governour MASSEY being admired by his Enemies, for the great skill and dexterity which he ſhewed upon all occaſions: Of which I ſhall diſcourſe the more particularly and at large, by reaſon of the great importance of this famous Siege; the condition of the whole Kingdome depending ſo much upon the ſucceſſe of it.

Many ſtrange and ſucceſſefull Sallyes were made by the beſieged.

Three daies after the Siege was layed, an hundred and fifty Musketeers, commanded by Captaine GRAY, ſallyed over the Workes, upon the *Worceſter* Forces, with whom the Welch had not yet joyned, fell into their Quarters, marched up to their Maine Guard, killed a Captaine, with eight or nine Common Souldiers, tooke five Priſoners, divers Armes, burnt their Guard, and retreated without the loſſe of any. Captaine MALLERY, with the like number of Musketeers, within a day after was commanded forth, to ſurprize ſome Ordnance of their Enemies, which were ſuſpected to lye at a certaine place; but finding none, retreated without loſſe, having killed ſome, taken a few Priſoners, and fired part of their Quarters. Within a weeke after, another Party of an hundred and fifty Musketeers, commanded by Captain CRISPE, ſallyed forth, and fell into their Enemies Trenches under the Towne Wall, marched above halfe way thorow them, performed ſtrangely, and killed

killed above an hundred men, as was confeſſed by ſome of that ſide, and by the help of the Musketeers on the City Walls, retreated ſafe, without the loſſe of any, only two wounded.

The Beſiegers proceeded with great skill and induſtry in making their Batteries, and undermining at ſeverall places; which labour of undermining, at ſome places was made fruſtrate by water ſprings, and in others by the extreme hardneſſe of rocky ground; and where the buſineſſe was more feaſible, the skill of the Governour prevented them by countermining. Many Granadoes were ſhot of great bigneſſe from their Morterpieces into the Towne, but guided by a ſtrange hand of providence into ſuch by-places, that they did very little hurt. One thing is worthy the relating; when the Welch and *Worceſter* Forces of the King came up, and foure Peeces of Ordnance were drawne a good diſtance before the place of their Leaguer, and one of them planted for battery; a Party of about foure hundred Muſketeers, commanded by Major PUDSEY, and Captaine GRAY, aſſiſted by Captaine FAULKNER, and Captaine MASSEY, ſallied forth of one of the Gates; meane while a Lieutenant with fifty Musketeers, was ſent over the Works to give them an Alarum, whileſt the greater Party got behind their Canon and Breaſt-Works; fell upon their maine Guard, ſlew many Officers, two Canoniers, ſlew, or mortally wounded, about an hundred Common Souldiers; tooke a Lieutenant, with foure more Priſoners, nayled their Canon; and retreated with the loſſe onely of two ſlaine, and foure taken Priſoners.

Two Sallyes of ſuch Parties were not long after made, though not with the ſame ſucceſſe altogether (by reaſon of ſome miſ-guidance) yet ſo much, as that they retreated without any ſenſible loſſe; and were enough to amaze their Enemies, that ſuch ſmall Parties ſhould runne up to their head Quarters, force

their wen, and be able in that manner to recover back. And it was obſerved by thoſe who well underſtood Warre, that it was a more then ordinary providence, which did preſerve and bring off thoſe many ſeverall Parties, when the vanquiſhing of any one of them, muſt needs run the City into extreme hazard; whoſe whole ſtrength remained upon the Workes day and night, except the reſerve of an hundred and twenty men at the maine Guard. One rare and ſlender ranke were to receive all the ſtorme without ſeconds: Yet it was the opinion of beſt Souldiers, that the ſafety of the whole did require thoſe frequent Sallyes, as the beſt remedies for ſo deſperate a diſeaſe: Which did not onely retard their Enemies Preparations, but put them into an Amaze, that the beſieged ſhould continue in ſuch an height of reſolution; which reſolution was to be kept up by the heat of Action. And it was the Governours care, to keep his Enemies waking by continuall Alarms, to waſt and weary them.

The Kings Army were ſtill preparing for a generall ſtorme, and ſtriving in the meane time to waſte the Magazine of the Town, which they hoped would ſoone faile, they ſpent their owne ſtore, and daily acted to the terrour of the beſieged; ſhooting Granadoes and Fire-bals out of their Morter-Peeces; and from one Battery which they had planted, ſhot in one night above twenty fiery bullets, which flew thorow the ayre like ſo many falling Stars, ſome eighteene pound weight, others two and twenty; ſome of them paſſing thorow Stables and Hay-ricks, did notwithſtanding by their ſwift motion, faile of kindling; and, which ſeemed ſtrange, could not ſet one houſe on fire. Many Mynes and Countermynes were every day working with great induſtry on both ſides, the Governour MASSEY, ſtriving to animate his men, and prevent the Townes deſpairng, by ſhewing the probability of a ſudden reliefe; withall adding,

that

that their ſo late yeelding would not at all mollifie the Kings Army. On the other ſide, the King ſeemed loath to invite them to yeeld ſolemnly by publike Summons, leaſt he ſhould detract from the honour of his enterprize. Yet many dealt with them underhand, by advertiſements of the Kings diſpleaſure, uſing alſo perſwaſions, and ſome intimations of the poſſibility of Grace.

CHAP. VI.

The Expedition of the Lord Generall ESSEX *for reliefe of* Glouceſter. *The great Battell of* Newbury *deſcribed.*

WHileſt *Glouceſter* was thus beſieged, and the Siege ſo ſtraight, that no intelligence could poſſibly arrive at it; the Parliament, who after ſerious conſiderations and debates, had for the preſent reſolved upon the reliefe of that City, as the onely meanes to preſerve the Kingdome; were as much ſtraightned how to proceed in the buſineſſe, with that expedition which was required. To recruit an Army ſo much waſted as the Lord Generals was, ſeemed too ſlow for this Service; and therefore the Trayned Bands of *London*, and their Auxiliaries, muſt of neceſſity be made uſe of: Thoſe that were well affected to the Parliament incouraged each other to the Worke: The diſaffected on the other ſide, laboured in all diſcourſes to breed deſpaire of the Atchievement, and to diſcourage the Lord Generall from marching; falſe reports were every day raiſed in *London*, that *Glouceſter* was taken. The Lord Generall *Eſſex* was foureſcore miles off, with no preſent or viſible Army at

that time; his March lying thorow thoſe Countries which were already harrowed by the Enemy: Inſomuch that all conſidered, it was a queſtion which was more wonderfull, that he undertooke it, or that he did it. The Parliament was at that time ſo farre ſunke, both in ſtrength and reputation, and ſo much forſaken by thoſe who followed fortune, that nothing but an extraordinary providence could make it againe emergent. The Cauſe, and very being of it, was now at ſtake; by the ſucceſſe onely of this Expedition to be redeemed or quite loſt. But it pleaſed God, that according to that extremity, the reſolutions of men were fitted. The City Regiments and Auxiliaries came cheerefully in, to performe the Service; and that poore remainder of the Lord Generals old Army was with all ſpeed recruited. An Army was likewiſe intended to be ſpeedily raiſed for Sir WILLIAM WALLER to march after, as a Reſerve. But that was not ſo ſuddenly done as the occaſion required; if it had, and that Sir WILLIAM could (as was intended) have come in with a ſupply at *Newbury*, it was the opinion of moſt men, that the Kings ſide had received an irrecoverable Defeat.

On the 24. of *Auguſt* the Lord Generall *Eſſex* on *Hownſlow* Heath, ten miles from *London*, muſtered his men; where almoſt all the Members of both Houſes of Parliament rode with him to ſurvey the Army; and toward evening tooke leave of their Generall, who marched on, and that night lodged at *Colebrooke*.

Upon intelligence of this Armies advance, Prince RUPERT, with the greateſt part of the Kings Horſe, drew off from *Glouceſter*, to oppoſe their March, and take what advantages he could againſt it: But the King with his maine Army continued the Siege, reſolving ſo to do till the laſt houre; hoping that every moment might worke ſomewhat for his end; either by failing of the Townes ſtore of Ammunition,

or

or ſome other want that might happen. Neither was that hope without reaſon. And ſo much more wonderfull was the fortune of that Towne, to be relieved at ſuch a nick of time, when their Ammunition was ſo farre conſumed, that but three ſingle Barrels of Powder were left in their Magazine.

On Saturday the 26. of *Auguſt* 1643. the Lord Generall *Eſſex* began his March from *Colebrooke* to *Beckensfield*, and ſo forward to *Beerton*, where he cloathed his Army, and marched on. The City Regiments and Auxiliaries joyned not with the Lord Generals Army till the firſt of *September*, when the generall Rendezvouze was on *Brackley* Heath. But before the joyning of all their Forces, a ſmall Party of the Kings Army, conſiſting of 400. Horſe, had faced a part of the Parliament Army, and skirmiſhed with them about *Biciſter*, but ſoone retreated upon the approach of greater numbers. The Generall taking up his Head Quarter at *Aynow*, ſent a Regiment to quarter that night at *Deddington* under the Conduct of Colonell MIDDLETON; who hearing there of two Regiments of the Kings Horſe, ſent two Companies of Dragoones, and a Party of Horſe to approach the Towne. But the Kings Horſe retreated to a paſſage toward *Oxford*, where the Lord WILMOT was with 50. Troops more. The next morning two Parliament Regiments, conducted by MIDDLETON and Sir JAMES RAMSEY advanced to that paſſe; where their Enemies ſtood in two great Bodies, and after ſome Skirmiſh gained the paſſe, placing Dragoneers to maintaine it. But the Kings Forces drew up againe toward it, and were received with a very hot Skirmiſh, which laſted many houres, till at laſt the Kings Forces made a retreat; but perceiving that Colonell MIDDLETON marched back toward the maine Army (which he did by the Lord Generals Command) they ſent a Party of Horſe to fall on his Reare, who followed them thorow *Deddington*

dington; but were beaten back thorow the Towne in ſome confuſion. The loſſe of men in theſe Skirmiſhes was not much on either ſide; neither could it certainly be knowne, but was imagined by the Parliament ſide to be more on their Enemies Party then on theirs.

The Lord Generall with his owne Regiment of Horſe, and the Lord GRAY, quartering at *Adderbury*, upon intelligence that ſome of the Kings Horſe from *Banbury* were abroad, ſent out a Party from both Regiments, who beat them in againe, and purſued them into *Banbury* Towne, whence they tooke divers Horſes and Priſoners, thoſe in the Caſtle not daring to ſtirre out. The Generall marched from thence to *Chipping Norton*, where ſome of the Kings Forces appeared againe, but ſoone retreated, as they did almoſt every day, during the March of that Army.

On the fourth of *September*, when the Lord Generall marched toward *Stow* the old, he ſent Colonell HARVEY with his Regiment of Horſe, and two Regiments of Foot, to advance a little before toward the right hand, and the City Regiments upon the left, under the Conduct of Lieutenant Colonell BAILY, Generall Adjutant of the Foot. Prince RUPERT appeared with about 4000. Horſe, drawne up on the Hills, facing the Parliament Forces, and ſent a ſtrong Party of Horſe into a bottome neere *Stow* on the old, to incompaſſe Colonell HARVEYS Regiments. Which being perceived, three Regiments from the Vanne of the Parliament Army advanced to his reſcue, and made that Party of the Kings Forces retreat to their maine Body: Many Skirmiſhes there happened, but little loſſe on either ſide.

From thence the Generall marched in the Foot of his Infantry, Sir JAMES RAMSEY in the Reare, and Sir PHILIP STAPLETON had the Van Guard.

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When the Kings Horſe againe appeared, and were by Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, and others of that Army encountered with divers Skirmiſhes; but they retreated in a great Body, and ſtill appeared before the Parliament Army, as they marched on, for the ſpace of ſeven miles.

On the fifth of *September* the Lord Generall advanced, and came to *Presbury* Hills; where he drew up his whole Army in view of the City of *Glouceſter*, and diſcharged foure Peeces of great Ordnance, to give them notice of his approach. Soone after he might diſcover the Kings Quarters on fire: For upon the Lord Generall his advance, they deſerted the Siege, and marched away all night. The Reere-Guard of the Lord Generals Army, ſome Ordnance and Ammunition, ſtayed on the top of the Hill, by reaſon of the ſteepneſſe thereof, darkneſſe of the night, and tempeſtuouſnes of the weather, whereby (beſides a famine of Victuals) the whole Army had for three daies March before extremely ſuffered, through a Country that their Enemies had already deſtroyed. But the Lord Generall marched from thence to *Cheltenham*, though during his March, the Kings Forces skirmiſhed with ſome Parts of his Army, and divers times beat up his Quarters whileſt he ſtayed at *Cheltenham*, which was two daies, till the eight of *September*, when he marched with his whole Army to *Glouceſter*; and was there with great expreſſions of joy, and much honour, received by that long beſieged, and now reſcued City; The Generall much extolling the skilfull valour, and indefatigable induſtry of Colonell MASSEY, and praiſing the patient conſtancy of the City; They on the other ſide highly honouring his Excellency for bringing them this relicfe, thorow ſo many difficulties, diſcouragements, and diſadvantages; both joyning in thanks to Almighty God, for his divine providence over them, and great mercy in ſending ſo timely a deliverance.

The Lord Generall lodged two nights in *Glouceſter*, furniſhing the City with Ammunition, Money, and other neceſſaries; and from thence marched to *Tewkſbury*, ſtaying betwixt the Kings Forces and that Garriſon foure daies, to give them more time to furniſh themſelves better with Proviſion of Victuall; which was to be brought from *Herefordſhire*, and parts beyond the *Severne*, ſince the other parts had been before ranſacked by the Kings Forces.

When the Generall with his whole Army aroſe from *Tewkesbury*, and intended to quarter at *Cheltenham*, he was advertiſed, that a Body of the Kings Army were then in *Cirenceſter* (which were reported to be Prince MAURICE his Forces) and had there layed in great ſtore of Proviſion for their Army. Upon that advertiſement the Generall, his want of Victuals and neceſſaries ſtill continuing, and miſerably increaſing upon his whole Army, made a long March with the Van-guard of his Army to fall upon them, which he did about one of the clock in the night, ſending in a Party of Horſe to ſeize upon the Centinels and Guards, whileſt himſelfe, with the reſt of the Horſe begirt the Towne; and a Forlorne hope of Foot, with his owne Foot Regiment, entred the Towne, and ſurprized two Regiments of Horſe (belonging to Sir NICHOLAS CRISPE, and Colonell SPENCER) which were by the confeſſion of ſome Priſoners taken, intended for raiſing a Commotion in *Kent*. The Lord Generall at that Towne of *Cirenceſter* took forty Loads of Victuall, which, under Gods providence, was the preſervation of his Army, untill the day that the great Battell of *Newbury* was fought. He tooke there likewiſe ſix Standards, all the Officers, except the two Colonels, which were abſent, with divers other Gentlemen of quality; above 300. Common Souldiers, and 400. Horſe.

The Generall from *Cirenceſter*, in ſhort Marches, nor

not above five miles a day, went to *Cricklade*, and to *Swinden*, from thence intending to paſſe to *Hungerford*. But when the Van and Body of his Army had marched almoſt all over *Auburne Chaſe*, a gallant Body of the Kings Horſe, conſiſting of about 6000. approached hard to the Reere-guard of his Army; which not being a ſufficient number to reſiſt them, indeavoured to make an orderly retreat to the Body of their Army. But the Kings Horſe purſued ſo hotly both on Reere and Flanke, that thoſe Horſe Regiments of the Generals Reere-guard could not retreat but with confuſion, and ſome loſſe. But being come to the Body of the Foot, they were drawn up againe into order, and faced their Enemies, untill all the Foot were marched. Nevertheleſſe the Kings Horſe againe advancing, put their Enemies the ſecond time into the like diſorder; till ſome of the Generals Regiments facing about towards them, charged the Forlorne Hope of the Kings Forces, conſiſting of 500. Horſe, and put them wholly into diſorder; and then charging the two Regiments which ſeconded that Forlorne Hope, they routed them likewiſe; but the Kings Horſe came on bravely with freſh Bodies, and ſtopt their Enemies further purſuit. Immediately followed a brave Charge, made by two of the Parliaments Regiments, which was incountered with as much Gallantry on the other ſide, ſo that they both retreated at one time. Another Charge was made by ſome Regiments of the Parliament Army, and ſo anſwered by the other, that they were forced to retreat to their maine Body; at which time Sir PHILIP STAPLETON (who had the Van-guard of the Parliament Army that day) came purpoſely back, and drew up his Regiment to ſuccour his friends, which cauſed the Kings Forces to retire altogether; and the night ſtopt any further proceedings.

On the Kings Party in theſe hot encounters, were ſlaine the Marqueſſe *De Vieu Ville*, with other Offi-

cers of good quality, whoſe worth and valour appeared highly, though I finde not their names recorded. Many Common Souldiers were there ſlaine, and one Lieutenant Colonell; two Lieutenants and a Cornet taken Priſoners. On the Parliaments ſide were ſlaine of Officers, Captaine MIDDLETON, and Captaine HACKET; divers Officers were wounded, ſome Common Souldiers ſlaine, and Colonell SHEFFIELD loſt a Standard. The Lord Generall *Eſſex* marched that night with his Army to *Hungerford*; Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, who before had the Van, bringing up the Reere.

The next day the famous Battell of *Newbury* was fought; which Battell may deſerve (becauſe the condition of the whole Kingdom ſo much depended on the ſucceſſe of it) to be related in a large and particular manner. But becauſe I have found nothing written of it by thoſe of the Kings Party; and that there was a punctuall Narrative publiſhed by ſome Colonels of the Parliament Army, Gentlemen of great and unſtained Reputation, concerning this Battell; which Narrative I have heard ſome of their Enemies confeſſe to be full, not onely of modeſty, but truth in the Generall, or for the moſt part; let the Reader be pleaſed to take it from their Relation. If any thing may hereafter appeare of greater truth, it will not trouble any honeſt man to ſee it publiſhed. Neither is it a thing unheard of, for men to deſcribe their owne actions with impartiall truth; ſince JULIUS CÆSAR is acknowledged to have written his owne Commentaries, not onely of the *Gallike* but Civill Warre, with ſo much cleare integrity, that his Enemies had nothing to blame in it. Take it therefore in their Language.

On Tueſday the nineteenth of *September*, 1643. we marched from *Hungerford* towards *Newbury*; and when we approached within two miles of the Town, we might diſcover the Enemies Forces upon an hill; their

their whole Army having prevented us, were gotten to *Newbury*, and poſſeſt the Towne. But the next morning, being Wedneſday, by break of day order was given for our March to an Hill called *Biggs Hill*, neere to *Newbury*, and the onely convenient place for us to gaine, that we might with better ſecurity force our paſſage. But when his Excellency perceived that the Enemies Forces had poſſeſt themſelves of that hill, marching himſelfe upon the head of his owne Regiment, Colonell BARCLAYS, and Colonell HOLBOURNES Brigades, he charged ſo fiercely, that he beat them from the hill, and kept it (rather gaining then loſing ground) the whole day. His Excellencies Regiment, and thoſe other Brigades, all the while they continued there, were hotly charged by the Enemies Horſe and Foote, whileſt much proweſſe was ſhewed on both ſides. The Generall in Perſon beſtirred himſelfe, giving directions whereever there was occaſion, and preſent in all places of danger, diſcharged the part of an excellent Generall, as the Enemies themſelves witneſſed. But he conſidered not the danger of his Perſon, whileſt he laboured to maintaine that place, which of all others was moſt advantagious for his proſpect. By this time came up the two Trayned Bands of *London*, who, though they were often charged by the Horſe and Foot, ſtood to it with undaunted reſolution.

The Battell thus begun by the Foot, Sir PHILIP STAPLETON, with his Excellency his Guard and Regiment of Horſe, advanced upon the plaine of the Hill; when he had no ſooner drawne up out of the Lanes end, ſeconded by Colonell DALBEIRES Regiment of Horſe (no other Horſe being advanced to the place) but the Enemy perceiving this advantage, being all drawne already in ſeverall great Bodies of Horſe, part of them advanced immediately, and charged our Horſe; whom we ſo well received (giving no fire till we joyned cloſe with them)

them) that the Enemy was wholly routed, and purſued with much execution neere to the place where their whole Body of Horſe ſtood. From thence by order we drew back to our firſt ground; by occaſion whereof, opportunity was gained to bring up the remainder of our Horſe, which had the Van-guard that day: whereupon the Enemy drew out ſome freſh Regiments of his Horſe, and with all poſſible ſpeed advanced againe upon Sir PHILIP, but received no bettter entertainment then before, being againe routed by him. By that time that he had drawne up his Regiment againe into ſome order, the other Regiments (RAMSEY, HARVEY, GOODWIN) were come up to him, when the Enemy with their whole Body charged upon them bravely, and were as well received. Sir PHILIP STAPLETON was here charged both in Front and Flanke, his whole Regiment having ſpent both their Piſtols, and was ſo incompaſſed, that the Enemy and ours, with both our whole Bodies, were all mixed together; and in this confuſion many were ſlaine on both ſides, and our men at laſt were forced towards the Lanes end, where they firſt came in; which being neere our Foot, the Enemies indeavoured to diſ-ingage themſelves, and drew back to their owne Forces. Thoſe that entred the Lane with ours were moſt of them ſlaine.

We tooke three Colours of Horſe compleat, and a peece of another Colours. In the firſt Charge Colonell DALBEIRE, and Commiſſary COPLEY, charging ſtoutly, were both wounded. In the third Charge Captain HAMOND, Captain FLEETWOOD, Captaine PYM, and Cornet DOILY, were all wounded. Captaine DRAPER, who had a Forlorne Hope of Sir PHILIP STAPLETONS men, did good Service; as Captain ABERCROMY, and Captain SHIBORNE did with their Dragoones. The left wing of our Horſe, commanded by Colonell MIDDLETON, and the right wing of the Enemies Horſe, could not

not be ingaged, but in ſmall Parties, by reaſon of the hedges.

The actions of our Horſe thus deſcribed wholly (becauſe we were loath to interupt the Series, for the Readers clearer underſtanding) returne we to the Foot. Major Generall SKIPPON in the morning, when his Excellency (as aforeſaid) was ingaged upon the hill, haſtened to the top of the hill, where our Van-guard was in fight; having before ordered the March of our Traine of Artillery, and thoſe that attended it (which were the Lord ROBERTS his Brigade, and his owne, Sir WILLIAM SPRINGERS, Colonell MANWARINGS, and the red and blew Auxiliary Regiments) to be neere to his Excellency. Looking from the Hill toward *Newbury*, he perceived a great ſtrength of the Enemy, both Horſe and Foot, in divers great Bodies advancing directly toward the way which all our Traine was of neceſſity to march. To prevent therefore what he ſuſpected, which was, that the Enemy would fall upon our Traine, or upon the Reare of thoſe that fought on the hill, or gaine that hill behinde us, our laſt nights Quarter, or all; he ſpeedily diſpoſed (which his Excellency did alſo ſend him a Command to do) Forces in places moſt convenient: Meane while the Generall ſending for more Foot, that Brigade wherein his Regiment and SPRINGERS were, with the red Auxiliaries, were ſent up; placing the Lord ROBERTS his Brigade, with foure ſmall Peeces, juſt where the Enemy advanced, who gave them ſo warme an entertainment, that they made them run; and the Lord ROBERTS poſſeſt the ground, which the Enemy came firſt up unto: His Lieutenant Colonell was ſhot in the face.

That Forlorne Hope which he had commanded the night before, being now ſtrengthened with 300. Musketeers, and led by Major FORTESCUE, Major Generall SKIPPON placed on the left of the

Lord ROBERTS his Brigade, upon the high way that came from *Newbury* juſt upon us; upon which way foure Drakes were likewiſe placed, and well defended, though the Enemies came up ſo cloſe, that they tooke away a Limmer of one of our Peeces, but it was with loſſe of many of their lives.

Colonell MANWARINGS Regiment was placed on the right hand, betweene the hill and the Lord ROBERTS his Brigade. This Regiment his Excellency a while after commanded away, to the reliefe of his owne Regiment, Colonell BARCLAYS, and Colonell HOLBORNES Brigades, which had been foure houres upon very hot Service. It fortuned that this Regiment was no ſooner brought on, but they were overcharged with two great Bodies of Horſe and Foot ſo, that they were forced to retreat, and loſe that ground which the forenamed Forces had gotten; which Colonell HOLBORNE perceiving, with his Brigade gave the Enemy a *Round Salvo*, and inſtantly his owne, and Colonell BARCLAYS Brigades, and the Generals Regiment againe advancing, beat back the Enemy, regained the ground, and made good the place all the day after.

The blew Auxiliary Regiment was commanded to *relieve and aſſiſt the Forlorne Hope, which had been* three or foure times in their turnes at the point. The Fight all along the Valley (more then half a mile in lenth) was continued as long as in any other part of the Army, which was till ten a clock at night; about which time the Enemy gave a good *Round Salvo* upon Colonell BARCLAY, and Colonell HOLBORNS *Poſts. Theſe things ordered, the Major Generall rode* up to the top of the hill, where he eſpyed an advantage to beſtow eight or nine Demi-Culvering ſhot upon the Enemy; who out of an houſe pelted the forenamed Gentlemen at neere diſtance. Then he rallyed the two Train-Band Regiments into one Body, drew them up, and placed them before, where the Traine of

of Artillery did afterwards draw up to the top of the hill, and desired Major BOTELER to draw the Musketeers of his Regiment on the right hand before the two Demy-Culverings that were placed at the end of the Lane, on the top of the Hill; and the red Auxiliaries he placed on the left hand of those Peeces, which before were slenderly guarded. The Artillery was well ordered that day, by the skill and care of Sir JOHN MERRICK.

While this was acting, two Peeces which belonged to the Major Generals Regiment, and one Drake of Sir WILLIAM BROOKES, were by the Generals Regiment, under the Command of Major BOTELER, with the assistance of 200. Musketeers recovered; and the Enemy drew away from their Pikes (which with their Colours kept standing, with many great Bodies of Horse to guard them) five or six hundred Musketeers, besides Dragoones, to encompasse our men on the right hand among the hedges; just at which time his Excellency sent to have 300. Musketeers of the Forlorne Hope, to go to the relieve of Colonell BARCLAY, and Colonell HOLBORNES Souldiers. But then the Enemy falling on upon our right hand, diverted them, who with other of our Musketeers thereabouts, beat the Enemy off, who else had done us great mischief. This was about foure a clock in the afternoone, when all our whole Army of Foot was ingaged in the Fight. But then he also caused some of the red Auxiliary Regiment to draw neerer to Colonell BARCLAYS Post, as he himselfe required. At length night drew on, when the Enemy, both Horse and Foot, stood in good order on the further side of the Greene, where we expected their stay till next morning, and that they were working (as was reported) to place their Canon, to make use of them against us when day should breake: Against which supposed encounter we encouraged our Souldiers before hand, and resolved by Gods

Gods help the next day to force our way thorow them or dye. But it pleaſed God to make our paſſage without blows; for the Enemy was gone by night; ſo that the next morning we marched quietly over the ſame ground where the Battell was fought, and where the Enemy ſtood; for on Thurſday early, his Excellency gave Command for the Armies March towards *Reading*; to which purpoſe it was all drawne up upon the Heath, where the Battell was fought; and after that his Excellency had given order for burying the dead, about ten a clock we began to march. Colonell MIDDLETON, with his owne, and three Regiments more (Lord GREY, SHEFFIELD, MELDRUM) and 400. commanded Musketeers under Colonell BARCLAY, had the Reere-guard: During which March, the Enemy at a great diſtance ſhot from ſeverall hedges, but tronbled us not. When we came to a long Heath, we drew up the whole Army ſeverall times, and no Enemy appeared. But at the entrance of a narrow Lane toward the evening, the Enemy fell upon us with 800. commanded Musketeers, and moſt of their Horſe, who cauſed our Horſe then in the Reare, to make a very diſorderly and confuſed retreat But when Colonell MIDDLETON, with the reſt of the Commanders in the Reare, haſted to charge the Enemy with our Foot, he made them retreat with *as much confuſion over the Heath, as they had us before*; the loſſe not great on either ſide. Lieutenant BROWNE was taken Priſoner.

After this, the ſame evening the Lord Generall drew up the Army to *Theale*, and taking ſome refreſhment there, marched the next morning, being Fryday, with the whole Army to *Reading*; where he ſtayed till the Sabbath was paſt, and gave publike thanks for the great Victory.

This was a Victory not denyed to the Parliament, nor at all diſputed; although the Lord Generall *Eſſex*, for want of Victuals, marched away to the neceſſary

reliefe

reliefe of his Army, and could not ſtay to purſue the Victory which he had gotten. The number of ſlaine in that Battell, were judged to be, by thoſe who ſpeak moſt moderately, foure times as many of the Kings Party as of the Parliaments; but others have ſpoken of a farre greater difference Divers Captains, as Captaine MASSY, and Captaine HUNT, with others, were ſlaine on the Parliament ſide; but ſcarce any of higher ranke. Three of the Nobility fell on the Kings ſide, the Earle of *Carnarvan*, the Lord SPENCER (newly made by the King Earle of *Sunderland*) and the Lord Viſcount *Fawlkland*.

After this Victory, the Lord Generall was received at *London* with great joy and Honour. The Trayned Bands and Auxiliaries of *London* marched home in full Companies, and were welcomed by their friends; and met by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Temple *Barre*: And now the face of things ſeemed much to change, and the reputation of the Parliament riſe higher.

At the time of this Expedition for reliefe of *Glouceſter*, a Ceſſation of Arms was made by the King with the Iriſh Rebels; of which, together with the great Victories which ſmall numbers of the Engliſh Forces obtained over great multitudes of thoſe Iriſh Rebels, before the time of that Ceſſation (which was here omitted, as not to interupt the Relation of proceedings in the Engliſh Warres) there may be a larger Diſcourſe in the continuation of this Hiſtory; as alſo of the Covenant which the Parliament, and that part of the Nation which adhered to them, about this time entred into with their *Brethren* of *Scotland*, for maintenance of the Religion, Lawes and Liberties of both Kingdomes.

FINIS.